



PHD

Exploring the Schooling Experiences of Turbulent Children from Low Income Families

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Exploring the schooling experiences of turbulent children from low income families

Volume 1 of 1

Ceri Lindsay Brown

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

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Department of Education

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Ceri Brown

Dated: 5th December 2010

“ Men... I saw them, several years ago. But one never knows where to find them. The wind blows them away. They have no roots, and that makes their lives very difficult.”

The Flower talking to The Little Prince by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the effects and experiences of changing schools outside of the normal periods of key-stage transition: what is known in the literature as turbulence. While there have been many quantitative studies examining the effects of turbulence on educational achievement, there have been no systematic qualitative studies. The quantitative literature has, typically, identified an educational 'penalty' for highly mobile or turbulent children from low income backgrounds and has used various social capital theories to explain this penalty.

This longitudinal study of seven turbulent children examines their experiences of entering a new school and follows them through from primary into secondary school. Interviews with the children and some of their families are triangulated with classroom observations and school data. Since these children can be seen as 'strangers' to the various aspects of school, the latter is theorised in terms of social spaces.

The study finds an explanation for the education penalty in terms of these children's focus on forming friendships at the cost of their educational progress. In the absence of stable friendships, they are excluded and isolated in school. Through the process of understanding the roles of friendship in social capital formation the study criticises the work of some of the key social capital theorists, in particular, James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam and seeks to develop a better understanding of the bases of social capital formation for school children.

1. Introduction

This thesis is a study into the effects and experiences of changing schools, outside of the normal end of key-stage transition. This atypical type of school move has been labelled turbulence. Over the last two decades the level of turbulence has risen significantly in the UK, as it has in other countries, as a result of processes of globalisation, and changes in family structure. Yet still we know very little about the effects of turbulence upon children, particularly in terms of educational, social and emotional well being. This study aims to address this gap in the literature and presents a case for the connectedness of social and emotional affects upon formal learning outcomes. This is explained through the role of friendships, both of those lost and reconstituted through turbulence and considers the role of friendship in enabling participation and inclusion within the formal and informal territories of schools. In the absence of stable friendships, the outcomes are exclusion and isolation in school, which as shall be shown, characterises schooling experiences for all but one of the turbulent pupils that took part in this study.

1.1 The Significance of Studying Turbulence

The motivation for this study was initiated from my own educational trajectory which was characterised by frequent changes of school. My experience was by no means unusual but rather a reflection of generational shift away from geographical stability towards frequent movement. In representing an issue of such social relevance, my masters dissertation (Brown, 2003) concerned the experiences of young adults as they reflected upon the effects of their mobility in childhood and had how these experiences framed their notions of identity, home and belonging, in adult life. The findings from this study although based on a small sample (17 case studies) revealed an interesting association, in that participants could be divided between those who felt they had adapted well and embraced the positive aspects associated with a mobile lifestyle, and those who

felt penalised by their turbulent experiences and believed they had not adapted well to a mobile biography. Of further interest here was the difference in socio-economic context between the two groups. The first group comprised participants who were the children of an affluent upper middle class parents; what Knowles (2002) has described as lifestyle migrants who move out of choice as a form of strategic social mobility. The group who were disaffected by turbulence had biographies governed by necessity through a social context of unemployment, family break-up and poverty.

This study interrogates the questions raised in my previous research by researching the experiences of turbulent children from low-income backgrounds, in order to examine their orientations towards school in relation to their experiences of turbulence.

Within the literature there are good reasons to pursue this line of enquiry. A number of more recent studies investigating the effects of turbulence, have identified an education penalty associated with children who move schools (Simmons et al 1987; Ingersoll, Scamman and Eckering, 1989; Haveman, Wolfe and Spaulding; 1991, Wood et al, 1993; Reynolds, 1991; Coleman, 1990; 1997; Hagan et al, 1996; Pribesh and Downey, 1999). Yet as these studies have been primarily quantitative, the scope for explaining this educational penalty has been limited. This study employs a longitudinal frame, which enables the endurance of 'turbulent effects' to be considered over a period of approximately five years following pupils' most recent turbulent move. The in-depth case study approach enables a consideration of the nuances of the effects of turbulence which extends the explanatory power of current theoretical frameworks for understanding the effects of turbulence.

1.2 Theoretical apparatus

To date, the most rigorous studies into the effects of turbulence upon the educational outcomes and life chances of children, have employed social

capital theory to account for the educational penalty identified for turbulent pupils. This study engages with three of the most influential social capital theorists in explaining the value of social capital for children in schools: James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam. These theories were very useful in framing my approach to the experience of turbulence, by connecting individuals to resources, orientations to education and achievement. The theory of James Coleman was useful in providing an understanding of the connection between the family, school and the community in fostering a pro-educational advantage. Pierre Bourdieu enabled consideration of the classed experience of school life and processes of inclusion and exclusion which apply to the social networks of professional and working class families. Robert Putnam's theory provided a significant development in raising the importance of social networks in identity construction. However, these theories required some development in order to be relevant to a child centred perspective and experience. The literature into the experiences of disadvantaged children living in poverty was a useful resource in identifying the significance of social relationships in shaping children's school life. At this juncture I turned to the research into friendship in order to explore the value of social networks for children in relation to the informal and well as the formal aspects of school. This shift of focus was important in shedding light upon the emotional value of social networks and situating the importance of social relationships in enabling social integration, social identity and belonging.

Whilst placing social relationships at the heart of an understanding of the sometimes damaging effects of turbulence upon school outcomes (formal and informal), this theoretical framework employed in quantitative studies could not explain the processes by which turbulent children engage in daily school life, nor of the mechanisms through which children utilise their social networks in order to navigate the sites of a new school. This required a socio-spatial theorisation of the school sphere and the development of a micro-level account of how the child strives to achieve inclusion and earn acceptance within school. The final development in my theoretical framework comprises a theoretical model of the processes by which the new pupil as stranger navigates the different territories of school in pursuit of generating a sense of belonging and

self value, this is labelled: 'the quest for self value'. The development of this model incorporated three distinct strands by which identity has been theorised: socio-spatial engagement, performative identity, narrative identity. This account enables consideration of both the context, the constrained autonomy of the individual and role of social interaction in shaping this 'quest'.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

Chapter one, the literature review, adheres to the preceding theoretical framework in summarising the findings of the best existing research studies into the effects of turbulence, and outlines the theoretical position in which I approached this study. It concludes with the five research questions which emerge from this review.

Chapter two comprises of my methodological approach to this study, it justifies my critical realist epistemology, discusses issues raised when conducting ethnographic research with children and young people, details how my theoretical model of the 'quest for self valuing' translates as a guide to empirical investigation, and describes the process of data collection.

Chapters three through to eight comprise the data chapters. These are presented as narrative accounts of each case study pupil, representing their stories of experiencing school following turbulence.

Chapter nine, the final data chapter, discusses findings in relation to the role and nature of friendships for the friends of the turbulent pupils. This chapter considers interview data from a 'comparator' group, by which experiences and understandings of friendship are compared between the turbulent pupils and their non-turbulent peers in the same social group.

Chapter ten, my discussion chapter looks across these six case studies and the corresponding comparator group account in considering the relevance of this data in relation to the research questions posed. This is considered in the light of the theories which framed them. It reflects upon the value of this theoretical framework in engaging with the objectives of this study, as well as outlining the original contribution of these findings in furthering understanding into the topic and developing theoretical discourse into the effects of turbulence on school children.

Finally, chapter eleven summarises the key findings of this study, it evaluates the limitations of the thesis and points towards implications for schools in responding to the findings. This chapter also raises further questions which emerge from this study and identifies potential directions in which these questions might usefully be explored.

2. Literature review

Turbulence is now a major educational issue in this country because a significant proportion of pupils are turbulent (Dobson, Henthorne, and Lynas, 2000). For example, about 43 per cent of pupils move school at least once between Key Stages 1 and 2 (Goldstein, Burgess and McConnell, 2007). Turbulence has been defined as, 'A child joining or leaving school at a point other than the normal age in which children start or finish their education at that school, whether or not this involves a move of home' (Dobson and Henthorne, (1999:5).

As there have been radical changes in the nature of social life and recognition of social groups that had previously been marginalised or made invisible, so issues relating to turbulence have become more prominent. Early conceptions viewed turbulence positively in focusing upon intergenerational social mobility. Research in the United States, at this time, was concerned with highlighting the beneficial effects of mobility (Stouffer, 1940; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Shumaker and Stokols, 1982). These benefits were ascribed to an upwardly mobile social climbing associated with advancement in career opportunities:

Migration has in recent decades become increasingly effective as a selective mechanism by which the more able are channelled to places where their potential can be realised.

(Blau and Duncan, 1967; 24)

However, not everyone at the time was convinced about the positive effects of turbulence. Elsewhere in the United States, Chicago school research was directed into the risks of mobility associated with mental and emotional ill health (Faris and Dunham, 1939; Henry and Short, 1954). In more recent times there has been a revival of interest into the impact of mobility because Western societies are increasingly characterised by movement on a mass scale (Soja, 1989; Urry, 2000). In particular, processes of individualisation, family

structure and flexible, increasingly global, labour markets have all contributed to children being subject to turbulence.

Central to discussions about the implications of the impact of mobility for society are debates on the importance of mobility upon the life chances of families who move. Several American studies have shown that many of the groups of children who move schools achieve less well than those who remain at the same school. (Simmons et al 1987; Ingersoll, Scamman and Eckering, 1989; Haveman, Wolfe and Spaulding; 1991, Wood et al, 1993; Reynolds, 1991; Coleman, 1990; 1997; Hagan et al, 1996; Pribesh and Downey, 1999).

The evidence in the American literature as to a penalty being incurred for turbulence, is supported in Britain by the multilevel study carried out by Goldstein, Burgess and McConnell (2007). It should be noted that there is not unanimity in the findings. Strand (2002) found only a small association between turbulence and maths scores at Key Stage 1, taking into account baseline scores, and pupils on Free School Meals, while Strand and Demie (2006) found that once other factors associated with socio-economic disadvantage and/or migration had been taken into account, moving schools had no significant effect on pupil progress.¹ However, they used simple regression techniques to arrive at these conclusions and in that respect the study by Goldstein et al, may be considered more robust. Overall the majority of quantitative studies into turbulence suggest an educational penalty.

2.1 Mobile Groups

There are several sometimes overlapping groups that are typically turbulent but not all appear to incur an educational penalty. Of those who are highly mobile but who do not appear to incur a penalty are the children of what may be called the global elite who attend international schools, these are typically drawn from

¹ Preliminary findings from the Progress at Primary School Study, show that students on FSM who are turbulent suffer an additional penalty in terms of test outcomes.

parents who work for multinational companies, Non Governmental Organisations and diplomats (Brown and Lauder, 2010).

By far the largest group to be considered are those living in poverty. It can be argued that individualisation and the demands of the labour market have led to changes in the family structure: there are more single parent families and with changes to more flexible labour market, a greater proportion of children in poverty (Lauder et al, 1994; Bradbury, Jenkins and Micklewright, 2000; Dobson, Henthorne and Lynas, 2000: GOA,1994). And, they are the clearest group for whom an educational penalty is incurred. Overlapping with those in poverty are migrants (Strand and Demie, 2006) and travellers (Levinson and Sparkes, 2006). Whilst little research exists which has concerned the specific turbulent experiences for children in poverty, recent studies have considered the effects of turbulence for two types of mobile groups, travellers and the other major group to experience turbulence, the military (Jeffreys and Leitzel, 2000).

2.1.2 Travellers

The traveller community present a particular cultural group which defies a purely class based analysis. If it is hypothesised that turbulent working class pupils may encounter the difficulties of moving away from wider family networks and friends, and that these are germane to their educational progress, the experience of Travellers is different. As regards Travellers, a distinction needs to be drawn between 'settled' and mobile travellers, although as Levinson and Sparkes (2006) discovered, the distinction is relative since even settled travellers can be more mobile than many families. Travellers are an example of a community where there is considerable mobility but where strong ties within and between families who are part of the wider traveller community are closely knit and operate with high trust and shared norms and expectations. Close ties here are founded on shared life experiences, stories and mythologies that bind the community together. However, it is important to see that the close ties may also be excluding with respect to education. Levinson and Sparkes (2006) note that "an intrinsic discord between the two environments [of home and school]

cannot be ignored” because Traveller children are exposed to a different set of expectations at school to those of the home.² There are, at least, two issues to be explored. Levinson and Sparkes’ found that the traveller community cooperates by bonding as a form of social capital in which their identity is strengthened by its lack of connection with the wider mainstream society, including the social world of the school. This raises questions about their isolation and sense of distance from school, and in turn the degree to which they may be excluded in school. While the cultural context of Traveller communities is different from working class communities, one Traveller student is included in this study because her experience addresses some elements of theories of social capital that are current in quantitative studies of turbulence.

2.1.3 *Military*

The children of military families have been the focus of many studies on turbulence (Jeffreys and Leitzel, 2000) but a distinction needs to be made between the officer class and ordinary ranks. Moving location and schools is part of military life but there may be a strong culture of support in sustaining such moves within the military which are suggestive of the close ties, similar to those found in an extended family. There are two issues to arise out of the research on military children. Firstly, whether the culture and support provided by the services may mitigate any negative effects of turbulence. An early review of studies of military turbulence (Mckay and Spicer, 1975) found that there was no consistent significant effect of turbulence in one particular direction. They concluded that this did not mean that turbulence did not affect some children positively and others negatively, only that attempts to identify a homogenous group of children who were affected by turbulence were unsuccessful. In contrast to Traveller pupils, it may be that while the military provides supportive close ties it does not exclude pupils from educational aspirations to perform well.

². One aspect of this discord concerns the conflict between a literate and oral culture. Fonseca (2006) notes that, “there are no words in Romani for ‘to write’ or ‘to read’. Travellers borrow from other languages to describe these activities” (11).

Price (2002) has observed that due to the normative constraints of military life, children of military families were in general better behaved. However, the source of this 'better behaviour' is seen as problematic by Jeffreys and Leitzel (2000) who found military children to be overly introspective and unable to make social bonds. In part this may be because as Gerner and Perry (2000) note military pupils who return from overseas may be depressed because their experiences are not understood and the home culture seems 'alien'. These studies suggest that there may be cultural values aligned with the military which endorse characteristics of obedience and emotional restraint, conveying an attitude of 'just getting on with it.' If this is the case the question is to what extent roles or identities characterised in these terms are able to bridge across into new social networks.

The study of the military, as with working class pupils has, typically, focussed on test scores, rather than the wider issues concerning pupils' educational identities. It may be that students can be coached through tests but that their orientations to learning, and educational and job aspirations may be affected in other ways by turbulence. In particular how might such characteristics impact in the forming of peer social networks within schools? It may be that whilst the social networks of the military might bridge into the classroom in relation to performance in terms of the formal curriculum, it might not be so easy to bridge into the social networks of the playground. This is supported by the findings of Jeffreys and Leitzel (2000) who note how the military children of their study had experienced a sense of isolation from peers.

However, the second point that needs to be raised here is that the cultural groups of the military need to be distinguished between the children of officers and those of ordinary ranks since officer children may have access to forms of cultural and social capital unavailable to the ordinary ranks. For example in Britain officer class children often attend boarding schools and therefore their educational experiences are likely to be quite different from the children from non-officer military families. This is a point that has previously been overlooked in the research of Jeffreys and Leitzel (2000) and Gerner and Perry (2000).

That said, for those children with access to the internet and who may have made friends in one school before moving on the internet may be used to maintain friendships so providing a degree of continuity despite the disjuncture of country, home and school (Brown, 2003).

2.2 The Different Origins of Turbulence

The penalty of turbulence for those in poverty can be seen in contrast to those more privileged who move not through necessity but out of choice in order to increase their social positioning, as in the case of those families who are globally mobile and send their children to international schools. Such forms of movement may be akin to the social climbing Blau and Duncan (1967) refer to. In more recent times such movers have been termed 'lifestyle migrants' (Knowles, 2003), affluent movers elevating their lifestyle. And yet even for Knowles' 'lifestyle migrants' we cannot draw conclusions as to the positive effects upon their children. This is because we need to draw a distinction between the choices for movement by the major breadwinner and other members of the family, including children. Just because the major breadwinner of a family may secure a prosperous promotion in relocating, it does not necessarily follow that there is a beneficial effect on partners and children. Hagan et al. (1996) suggest that in order to consider the effects of mobility upon the family, Elder's (1994) life course perspective should be considered because it underlines the interconnectedness of family lives. This hypothesises that the life trajectories of children are significantly shaped by the decisions of their parents.

However, the experiences of children who are turbulent have not been studied. To date the research on turbulence has largely been quantitative and there has been, to my knowledge, no systematic qualitative study of the experience of turbulent children in schools. The literature review below will show that many of the claims about the causes of the educational penalty incurred by turbulent children are inferred from theory and statistical evidence, on parental background, changing homes, locations and schools and test outcomes.

Schools in this research have been black boxes. It can be argued that it is only by studying the experiences of turbulent children in school and the community that a basis for understanding how their school careers can be improved and better understanding and explanations for the penalties turbulent children incur can be developed. Penalties may extend beyond performance in tests and may have a much longer effect on their educational careers, but this has not been studied in the literature. In this sense using Hagan et al.'s (1996) suggestion of a life course analysis is important because it points to the need for longitudinal qualitative study as a way of better understanding the school experience and possible longer term effects of turbulence.

2.3 Social Capital Theories and the Effects of Turbulence

In order to understand theoretically the effects of turbulence upon how children 'get on' in school, the family of social capital theories are a good starting point. The concept of social capital has its roots in the early part of the 20th century in Durkeim's (1933) conception of social solidarity and since has been employed across many fields including sociology, urban studies, economics and education. In the field of education one of the most influential applications of social capital to the phenomenon of family mobility was by Coleman (1990; 1997). In the following a critical evaluation will be developed of the family of theories of social capital in relation to turbulence. It will be argued that while Coleman first drew attention to the significance of social capital in understanding the effects of turbulence, he did not take into account the issues of power and exclusion that may have an influence on turbulence. Rather he had what may be considered a rather idealised view of community in which social capital was embedded. In contrast to Coleman, Bourdieu (1986) has understood social capital as an element in the conflict between social class groups and this in turn can refine Coleman's initial understanding of the role of social capital in turbulence by looking at the fault lines of power which may exclude working class turbulent pupils from access to some of the resources that are available to the middle class.

In quantitative studies such as Coleman's and those working in his tradition, the understanding of turbulence effectively stop at the school gates. However, Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (2000) enable formulations of social capital combined with cultural capital that can help to understand the society-school relationship and within school relationships for turbulent children.

Social capital has attracted controversy both for the way it has been theorised and particularly the political uses to which it has been put (e.g. Fine and Green, 2000). In responding to the criticism levied at social capital theory about its ambiguity in definition, Field (2008) observes:

The issue is not whether a concept can be applied loosely, but whether it leads to new insights when applied finely (47).

In heeding Field's injunction, the focus in this thesis is on whether and how social capital is helpful in explaining turbulence. Specific criticisms of the various theories of social capital will be addressed through this chapter.

2.4 Coleman, Social Capital and Turbulence

Coleman assumes that social capital can be understood in relation to the role of the parent and their involvement in their child's life. This explanation is related to the way he theorises the role of social capital in the creation of human capital. If social capital refers to the potential to acquire direct or material forms of capital, human capital refers to the outcomes of education such as qualifications and expertise. In Coleman's study (1997) the human capital outcome was indicated by finishing high school.

For Coleman, social capital has two aspects, the within family relationship and that of the relationship of the family and the community and school. Social capital is conceptualised as a model of transference between the parent and child. Parents represent the nodes of human capital and the social links between parent and child are the channel through which this human capital is

transmitted to their child. But social capital is also the conduit by which 'messages' about education are transferred between families within the community. Coleman (1997) found that pupils who moved school suffered a penalty by being more likely to drop out of high school. He argued that it is the disruption caused by turbulence to family and community social capital that explains why turbulent pupils suffer an educational penalty by moving. This is due to the impact upon social ties that; *"inhere in family relations and in community organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person"* (Coleman, 1990; 334).

Coleman understands children's performance in school to be associated with strong social relationships both within and between families, such as the closeness between the child's family and the school and the closeness between the child's parents and other parents at the school. Similarly links between the child's family and with members of the local community can create a channel for the transmission of norms about what constitutes the expectations and behaviour associated with high attaining pupils.

Communities in which there is a high degree of trust and shared norms as to the significance of education, reinforce the creation of human capital, understood in terms of graduating from High School. This is because the social connections between child and adult in different contexts *"can provide the child with support and rewards from additional adults that reinforce those received from the first and can bring about norms and sanctions that could not be instituted by a single adult alone"* (Coleman, 1990; 593). Therefore, when the child's family is removed from the school and associated local community then these channels are lost and furthermore the social ties within family are put under stress.

2.5 Studies of Turbulence after Coleman

In recent times Coleman's theory of social capital, as a concept for exploring the impact of mobility upon a child's life chances, has been extended by a number of large-scale quantitative studies. In effect they have accepted Coleman's theory as a starting point but refined it bringing out key issues and distinctions that are helpful in understanding turbulence.

Hagan et al (1996) carried out a survey with 834 secondary school students in Toronto, Canada in 1976. Students' grades in maths and English were then recorded in the spring following the initial interview. Thirteen years later in 1989 structured telephone interviews were carried out with 566 of these students. The study sample consisted of the 492 respondents who were included in the second round interviews. Outcome measures included high school and college graduation and occupational status. This study found that student migration from within Canada had a negative effect on educational attainment. In explaining these findings they offer support for both Coleman and Elder's theories on the effects of mobility upon educational outcomes. Their analyses showed that the negative effects of mobility upon educational and employment trajectories were indeed mediated through the social capital links between child and parent. In explaining this association, social capital in the form of parental support and participation could be seen to have an impact upon children life course trajectories, these effects operated through educational achievement onto occupational achievement. Whereas low maternal and paternal support and participation lead to a negative impact upon educational achievement and later occupational status, high maternal and paternal support could be understood as acting as a buffer upon these negative effects, reducing the impact.

One of their most interesting findings concerned the gendered nature of parental support which mitigated the negative effects of mobility. Whilst it was important for the mother to be supportive of the child with regards sharing feelings and confiding, for the father the significant factor was participation in family life. Hagan et al. (1996) speculated that the father may provide a more indirect form of support through participation with the family in home, school

and community events. This could be seen to support Coleman's emphasis on the closure of social networks within the family. Coleman's theory of social closure suggests that social capital operates through the closure of networks within the family as well as networks between the family and community. This inverse triangular model acts as a filter involving the 'nodes' of adults at the top and child at the bottom. It is the links or relations between family members which connect nodes thus transferring human capital from one to another; sources and recipient of human capital:

Closure is only present between adults who themselves have a relation to the child. The adults are able to observe the child's actions in different contexts circumstances, talk to each other about the child, compare notes and establish norms (Coleman, 1990; 593).

Whilst Hagan et al's (1996) study presents an interesting development of Coleman's social closure theory in elaborating on the nature of gendered familial roles in the transference of human capital, as well as the differential impact of these upon a child's progress and expectations, they acknowledge that their study fails to capture forms of social capital external to the family in the form of extra-familial social networks.

A more recent study which takes account of forms of social capital outside of the family is offered by Pribesh and Downey (1999). They argue that whilst Coleman's social capital theory presented a good starting point to examine the effects of movement upon educational outcomes, the way it had been applied needed refining. In Coleman's study, a child's mobility was used as a proxy for social capital, therefore it was assumed that mobility caused a breakdown in social capital *de facto*. Pribesh and Downey aimed to address this conceptual conflation by exploring a broad range of social connections that are likely to be affected by changing schools or residence, not least the social relations available to the child independent of their parent(s), something which has been under theorised by research into social capital. As social capital and mobility were considered separately Pribesh and Downey were positioned so as to explore the different types of social relationships affected by mobility and the extent to which they were affected. In particular, they distinguished between

movement from one home to another, movement from one school to another and movement of both home and school. Furthermore, they hypothesised that different types of movement may have a different affect upon different types of social capital. In distinguishing between types of mobility Pribesh and Downey were thus able to present a more nuanced analysis upon the relationship between social capital and mobility. Indeed, they found that all three types of mobility studied: 'school', 'home' and 'both home and school', had a negative effect upon social capital and educational outcomes, and as might have been expected the greatest effect was found to be associated with both home and school moves. The findings showed that Coleman's research into the social capital explanation was correct to assume that students who move experience a deterioration in social capital. However, whilst moving was found to lead to a decline in educational performance, this was found to be only partly a function of social capital. In order to separate the effect of moving, from other significant factors associated with a move Pribesh and Downey controlled for various significant events and found that students whose parents divorced, had a single parent or had a parent die, experienced declines in test scores independent of moving and other family or student characteristics. Therefore, much of the effect of mobility upon educational performance could be explained by previous characteristics of movers which were present before they moved. Nevertheless that turbulence further impacted negatively upon educational performance suggests that it has an additional effect over and above the various measures of family trauma. Pribesh and Downey point towards the reciprocal effects of moving and social capital, such that whilst moving may cause loss of social capital, low social capital may also encourage a further move as families are less integrated into the community. This finding is significant as it underlines the importance of breaking the cycle in losing social capital and encourages researchers to consider the reconstitution of social ties after relocation.

In considering the relevance of this study in relation to theorising social capital, the authors point to Coleman's (1988) view that families benefit simply by living in a community with high levels of social capital. In contrast to this view, Pribesh and Downey (1999) speculate as to the nature of social ties in the origin and destination community which might offset the effects of loss of social capital.

This is important because it raises the possibility that social ties may not only be lost in moving but also reconstructed. Here they raise the question as to whether certain kinds of social ties are more valuable than others in relation to school performance and how these may differ in the previous and receiving communities. This necessarily prompts the question as to what schools can do to facilitate social relationships with turbulent children and what types of social ties are most conducive to settling in well and succeeding in schools. In the context of these considerations, Pribesh and Downey took into account a wider range of social capital forms as connected to the child as opposed to their parent, this included: student- school links, student-peer links and student-community links, in addition to the form Coleman concentrates upon student-parent links. However, they did not fully develop an account of the differential effects of these relationships, other than to note that student-school ties had an effect upon maths achievement and that student-peer and student-parent social ties were not affected by school only moves. Furthermore, being that these forms of social capital were indicated by only one measure, it is arguable whether the full range of impacts can be gauged by this analysis.

This research offers the hypothesis that social relationships are important but what types of social relationships are *most* important for different types of mobile families? More specifically, how can such relationships (or lack of them) impact upon children 'getting on' in school? Exploring the connection between the nature of different types of social ties and their effects on a child's experience of school may point the way towards possible steps to off-set the undesirable effects of mobility.

All three quantitative studies discussed here are concerned with social capital networks as a resource which can be lost when families move. But if social capital networks are significant in children's experience of education then a key question is how and whether social networks are reconstituted or remade in a family's new location.

2.6 The Theoretical Limitations of Studies in this Tradition

These studies utilised quantitative data in relation to 'objective' outcome indicators such as educational attainment and occupational status. However, there may be other factors which may impact upon life chances connected with more social and emotional measures of 'getting on' in school. Indeed a key criticism that can be made of these studies is that while they further our understanding in important ways, they tell us nothing of how the impact of movement translates into what happens to children within the school.

In order to do this a more critical engagement is required with the way Coleman theorises social capital in relation to the connection between family and community. Coleman has been criticised for the primacy he accords to the site of family social capital. For Coleman intergenerational closure should be praised in strengthening social capital, however Baron Field and Schuller (2000) point out that such closure may also present "a powerful force for conservatism... inhibiting rather than facilitating [children's] development" (246). Similarly, these authors argue that Coleman's position on social capital, is 'functional' in the way it understands the community to be a benevolent force operating so as to better opportunities for community members. They suggest that Coleman's theory downplays issues of power and control which operate through forms of social capital so as to exclude others which therefore facilitates social inequality. An extreme example might be the Ku Klux Klan, the violent and persecuting US organisation advocating white supremacy, racism, homophobia and anti-semitism. Less malevolent exclusionary forms of social capital can be seen in the free-mason fraternity which operates as an exclusive (male) membership club which pools the use of resources from those constituent within the club. In paying recognition to the ways in which social networks might exclude as well as include others, we are better positioned to explore how upon entering a new school the child might experience negatively alien social networks with which they are not familiar. At this juncture we might usefully turn to the work of Bourdieu (1997) whose understanding of social capital must be considered in relation to the two other main forms of capital he identifies; economic and cultural.

2.7 Bourdieu's Understanding of Social Capital and its Relevance to Turbulence

In Bourdieu's theory, economic capital is most closely aligned with our common sense understanding of capital in financial terms which is held by a possessor, either in its monetary form or embodied in the owning of land or material goods. Cultural capital is less tangibly identified as it refers to knowledge or 'know how' which is recognised (sometimes tacitly) as having value by the dominant classes. This can be embodied within forms of being or doing; social etiquette for example or in specialised knowledge of the Arts. Alternatively cultural capital can be institutionalised in the form of credentials, or qualifications obtained from institutions recognised as valid by the dominant classes. Whilst cultural and economic capital can be seen as the foundation forms of capital, social capital refers to the aggregate ownership of the above forms of capital within a durable membership group. Therefore, an individual's measure of social capital refers to his/her potential to mobilise capital latent within the group: *"a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word"* (1997; 51).

Fundamental to Bourdieu's understanding is that capital in all its forms is utilised by and for the benefit of dominant classes so as to maintain and reproduce their position within society. Of central importance in order to achieve this, is the process by which one capital is able to transform itself into another so as to increase the overall net capital accumulation, a concept labelled 'transubstantiation' (1986; 242). This process is the cornerstone of the function of social capital in which members of a dominant membership group symbolically bank their respective capital forms in a shared account in order to draw upon other forms of capital which would be unavailable through their own means alone. Furthermore, the capital banks of dominant membership groups are not restricted within the group alone, rather they may well bridge across other membership groups and form allegiances between other membership banks so as to maximise the net worth of the collective. Whilst technical language might be used to describe this process, in fact, the processes of social capital transubstantiation are often hidden within the informalities of

everyday practices and in this way the pervasiveness of social capital as a way of mobilising other forms of social capital may appear as 'natural' or 'good luck'. For Bourdieu the injustice of this manifestation of social class exists in its unequal distribution across the social classes where these processes of social capital occur repeatedly and systematically across the micro, meso and macro levels of society (Granovetter, 1985). In this way social capital operates so as to advantage the few at the expense of the many.

The work of Bourdieu can be used as an injunction to consider not only how social capital within the school might operate to improve the experience of the new child and mitigate against negative effects of mobility, but how the social capital of others present in the school might operate so as to exclude the new child. Whilst this insight into forms of social class inclusion and exclusion is helpful, it is not sufficient in considering how children may be included or excluded when entering a new school. At this point we might turn the work of Robert Putnam in developing the notion of social capital so as to consider the culturally specific ways in which children may be included or excluded from school success.

2.8 Putnam, Bonding, Bridging and Identity Construction

While, Bourdieu has identified social class as a key factor in the way social capital is structured and works, there are other groups in society who may be mobile but who may be considered as distinct within the wider class structure. In order to understand their relationship to schools, we need to consider Putnam's notions of bonding and bridging. A further interest in Putnam's (2000) work is that it also raises questions of identity that can be seen as integral to an understanding of the way turbulent children respond to changing schools.

Putnam's account suggests that in: "*social capital theory all social networks have value.*" (19) The power of social capital can be understood in relation to the reciprocity of mutual obligations. This can either be specific, relying on an immediate or specified transactional value, or it can be general relying on a general sense of what goes around comes around. The latter position assumes

that the provider of the transaction may benefit at some arbitrary point in the future and possibly not even directly from the benefactor but from someone else in the social network. Whilst Bourdieu distinguished between the cultural and social capital value of middle class social networks (high value) and low social class networks (low value), Putnam presents a more nuanced account of the value of different forms of social networks. He draws a distinction between social networks which bond within the social network and those which bridge across social networks.

Implicit within Putnam's distinction of 'bonding' and 'bridging' forms of social capital, is the extent to which they are able to cross territories. 'Bonding' forms of social network are rooted in narrow identities bound within the rules and regulations of the symbolic spaces in which the social network operates. Bridging forms of social capital however comprise much looser identities which are fluid and transformative. As such they may bridge across the external territories of school and home. Due to their transformative nature they are able to adapt to the rules and regulations, expectations and norms of new territories with greater ease and familiarity. These are identities which are mobile and active not static and rooted in place.

The distinction between bonding and bridging builds upon Granovetter's (1973) 'close' and 'weak' ties which interconnect people. Close ties are most enduring and founded upon high levels of trust between people, these would most often characterise the ties between family members. Whilst these might sound like the best form of social relationships Granovetter believed that "*in a highly fluid and open social system... high levels of personal trust can be economically dysfunctional*" (Field, Schuller and Baron, 2000; 248). That is, the existence of close ties did not necessarily guarantee that trust is well founded. On the contrary personal trust found in work based partnerships can lead to forms of malfeasance such as embezzlement and fraud. Granovetter argues that a more effective form of social relationship in current economic era involve 'weak' ties whereby levels of trust are particular and relative. In this way social networks spread further and wider as the individual seeks support and partnership from a

multitude of different networks forming relationships which can be transient and fit for purpose. Whereas Granovetter's discussion of close and weak ties refers to a change in types of professional relationships, Putnam discusses the closeness or distance of social forms of relationships. The distinction that can be drawn here is that social capital is formed between specific groups, whereas ties can be seen as that which links individuals. Central to Putnam's (2000) discussion of the function of different kinds of social relationships is their role in the construction of identities. 'Bridging' forms of social capital are inclusive, they are outward looking encompassing multiple identity types with an aim to bridge between different social groups. 'Bonding' forms of social capital on the contrary are inward looking and exclusive, they aim to "*reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups*" (22). Whereas the identities constructed and reinforced by bridging forms of social capital may be broad and multifaceted, the identities of bonding forms of social capital are reinforcing of more singular and narrow forms of self. Putnam points out that social networks may (and often do) include both bridging and bonding forms of social capital, however in situating social networks in relation to these concepts it is more a case of whether they sit more towards one or other of these binary poles. So let us consider how processes of bonding and bridging might apply to children in schools in order to exclude or include children.

2.9 Power and Culture in the School-Society Relationship

We saw previously in the work of Bourdieu that cultural and social capital are understood as having a role in precipitating and reproducing the dominance of the middle classes. We can now turn to a discussion of the significance of the culturally symbolic in the exclusion or inclusion of children. The point here is that processes of peer interaction and behaviour in schools may have a cultural element which may or may not be recognised by pupils and staff. However, for activities that are not so recognised or legitimated, exclusion may follow.

Bourdieu (1977) discusses how society uses symbols in order to make the social world meaningful. A neutral phenomenon becomes a symbol when it becomes valuable or meaningful by association or reference to something else.

Bourdieu describes how symbols are central in the production of ideologies which support the ruling classes. An ideology can be seen as the interconnection of symbols into a symbolic system which represents a view on the nature of reality. A culture is the embodiment of an ideology into a shared practice of particular forms of being and doing. The dominant culture is effective at naturalising its ideologies into the wider society at large. Through this naturalising process the means by which ruling cultural groups are maintained social divisions become disguised as a function of communication. Connecting with Putnam's (2000) notion of bonding and bridging, the communication between a cultural group becomes a bonding form of social capital as opposed to a bridging form which in Putnam's view would be include communication between other cultural groups. Bourdieu defines this process of naturalising the dominant symbolic systems into popular culture as symbolic violence because it represents the domination of one cultural group over another.

2.9.1 Symbolic violence across the society-school boundary

This can be exemplified within school using the example of a horse as a symbol conceptualised differently by two cultural groups. For the Traveller community horses have symbolic value rooted in the traditions of gypsy/traveller culture. They are seen to symbolise aspects of the Traveller ideology: reservation and sociability, cleanliness, respect for the inside/outside distinction of animals and people central to gypsy identity and are intimately associated with travelling itself. (Bancroft, 2005). On the other hand, the horse has a very different symbolic value in the practice of show jumping, an activity associated with the middle class, not least due to the expense of the activity. The following example is an illustration, in part based on observation, of symbolic violence whereby the Traveller cultural symbol of horse is devalued in school where in contrast, the show jumping symbol of the horse is seen to be endorsed and celebrated. This example involves the little traveller girl Megan and the horse rider and her class-mate Elspeth, a show jumper. In the playground space both girls in collaboration with their respective social groups engaged in play involving enactment of the symbolic value of the horse. The activity of Megan and her

traveller friends is a role play horse fair whereby she and her friends play out the rituals of the viewing and purchasing of horses, a significant event for the traveller community. In the corner of the playground the girls enact scenarios oscillating between pretending to be a horse and those who buy them. The oldest of the group directed the scenarios and assigned roles for the group. Megan appeared to really enjoy this game and it continues into the classroom space whereby instead of taking part in the numeracy lesson Megan pulls her trousers over her feet and stamps her feet, her traveller friend laughs and copies her, Megan tells me and the classroom assistant that these are her hoofs. The classroom assistant dismisses the comment with 'don't be silly' and tells Megan and her friend to stop the activity, turn around and face the teacher. In the second example, Elspeth can also be seen to construct a show jumping territory with her social group. This is situated in the bike sheds, they pretend the bike racks are show jumps and enact the horses jumping over them. The dominant girl enacts the role of judge and determines scoring for each 'performance'. However, this activity can be seen to receive quite a different response within the formal schooling culture. Elspeth tells her teacher about the trophy she won in a recent show jumping competition and the teacher endorses and supports this activity. She suggests that Elspeth bring in her prizes into the classroom territory of show and tell. These are later praised by the teacher and shown to the children in the class who admire and clap.

This discussion has aimed to illustrate how within school, interaction and activity may be connected to wider cultural practices which are external to the school setting. Through a focus on how the cultures of the playground connects with the culture of the classroom we can consider the act(s) of symbolic violence whereby dominant cultural practices pervade into school territories as ideologies in which the school supports and endorses, (as exemplified in the case of Elspeth), whereas the practices rooted in other cultural groups external to the school may be ostracised and excluded from endorsement or recognition by the school as illustrated in the example of Megan. In this way whilst the focus is on the behaviour, interaction, activities and practices of the school, these may not be separated from the wider social groups to which children belong. As such we might understand how children may be differentially

positioned to negotiate access to social groups with values consistent with the dominant culture. But why might some children be orientated towards some social groups and not others? To understand this it can be argued that for children, access to social capital amongst peers is closely related to friendships because they provide access to activities within the school and between the school and the community.

2.10 Functions of Friendship

Field (2008) has criticised Putnam's notion of bridging and bonding for failing to acknowledge that "*different types of social capital will produce different outcomes*" (46). Indeed this criticism could be extended to acknowledge Putnam's inattention to the precise nature of bridging and bonding which may differ within different contexts and in terms of gender. This study aims to address this omission in considering how these forms of social capital work within the school context and particularly in terms of friendships.

So far we have explored the role of individual ties and the networks they form as a means of social capital from an almost business-like perspective of win-win exchange (Granovetter, 1973). Yet as can be understood using the above example, within schools social groups may be cemented through informal ties. Such ties which bind individuals in the social world and connect people to groups cannot be divorced from the feelings and emotions which cement them. Our ties with others are not interchangeable but personal and can connect to deep bonds of attachment based upon complex and nuanced forms of exchange. Here it's necessary to look a bit closer at the notion of friendship and the role of friendship both generally as a stabilising force during periods of uncertainty, and specifically the role of friendship for children in a new school.

2.10.1 Friends; the 'new' family?

In contemporary western society the ideals by which people live are changing and as such it has been argued that the construct of family has changed too

(Weston, 1991; Pahl, 1998; Silva and Smart, 1999). Being slow to catch up with such change, Silva and Smart (1999) note that the political mantra from both the right and left refers to the 'strong family' (as a force for socialisation) constituting a heterosexual married couple living with biological children whereby the man is the breadwinner and the woman primary carer. However, the social, and economic conditions for sustaining this scenario have caused individuals to have broken free from prescribed notions of what family roles ought to be. Rather than the 'social danger' that political agendas paint of this picture, Silva and Smart believe it can be emancipatory. They argue that one of the processes of such change involves the re-formation of family ties which "disrupts the primacy of blood and marital relationships" (9) whilst retaining a basic core "which refers to the sharing of resources, caring, responsibilities and obligations" (7). The implications of such a shift is that a more appropriate concept of the contemporary western family is built around notions of care and intimacy, but not necessarily connected through kinship. It therefore follows that individuals can and do make proactive choices in the family(ies) of which they are part. This leads to the construction of friends as the new family, or 'families of choice' (Weston, 1991).

Pahl (1998) agrees with the view that people may choose their families and elaborates upon the different types of friendships that bind people and the conditions in which they may be fostered. Pahl draws upon survey findings from the British household panel study (1994) and the British attitudes survey (McGlone, Park, & Roberts, 1996) which highlights that people (especially those divorced) are more likely to see their friends weekly than a member of their family who does not share the same family home. Pahl believes this may be on account of greater geographic (and perhaps social) mobility distancing the ties of origin families. He suggests that friends may now provide sources of continuity of support and security previously associated with the role of family and neighbours.

Pahl distinguishes between three types of friendships, those based on utility, pleasure and character. Those based on utility are generally little more than acquaintances, loose social ties lacking in emotional bonds which take place for

convenience often cemented by: similar interests such as football team mates, or in similar duties and routines such as sharing the school run. Lacking an emotional connection this type of social tie coheres with Granovetter's (1973) discussion on weak ties which are so useful in the work context. The second type of friendship Pahl identifies being based on pleasure attempts to "replicate in adulthood what an ideal family would be for children". Factors underpinning this form of relationship include; comfort, help, and protection which involve emotional bonds, but may often not be reciprocal as they can involve an unequal distribution of power as they can rely on dynamics of carer/cared for, where one is the provider and the other the recipient. These types of friendships echo Putnam's description of 'bonding' forms of social network which may strengthen individual or group attachment through narrow inclusive identities. Friendships of 'pleasure' as with the 'bonding' ties may be quite smothering in their exclusivity therefore preventing the individual from forming bonds outside of that relationship. The third type of relationship Pahl identifies; 'friendships of character' are what he calls 'pure friendships'. These are based on communication, openness and intimacy. They are essentially egalitarian in nature and identity forming "in knowing and being known" (105). Due to this essential feature of such friendships- being known, the individual must trust their friend in order to be truly open about their innermost feelings. Such friendships connect with Putnam's description of bridging social ties, in that they enable those involved to grow and develop and through being more secure in their foundations are more compatible with cross-over (or bridging) into other social groups.

2.10.2 Friendship as an aid against social exclusion

In their work on the role of friendships for children in care, Ridge and Millar (1999) remind us of what happens in the absence of friendships: social exclusion. They refer to Room's (1995) definition of social exclusion as "inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power" (p6) such that we might understand social exclusion as wholly connected to issues of control and power. Ridge and Millar (1999) observe that even in policy discourses centred upon the issue of social exclusion, children are at a

disadvantage being already subject in many ways to the power and control of adults. It would therefore follow that not only might forms of social and interpersonal integration be of particular importance for children in avoiding social exclusion, but that these experiences ought best be explored from a child-centred point of view because it can be argued, that the children's social world can be thought of as a social entity distinct from the adult world and the role in which the purposes of friendship should be seen in the specific context of the child's social world.

Ridge and Millar identify friendship as a critical factor in children's development of their social identity. They point to the three main functions that Rubin (1980) identifies in the role of friendship for children. These can be seen to speak to the friendship types that Pahl identifies above for adults. The first role according to Rubin is in the contribution to the development of social skills which will aid assimilation into the wider world of social situations. This can be seen to connect with Pahl's 'utility' friendship in referring to the transferable benefits of loose social ties. The second role would apply to a tighter closer and emotional bond in providing the potential for self knowledge as well as understanding of others. Research also highlights the significance of friendship particularly for older children in providing emotional support (Garrett, 1989). This might apply to the friendships of pleasure that Pahl describes, however the danger of replicating the adult-child relationships of early family life, is that the associated tendency towards co-dependence founded in deep emotional connections prevents individuals forming new social ties outside of the tight friendship unit. This leads onto to Rubin's third role of friendship for children which refers to the sense of group belonging and the security group membership can bring. The stable and secure ties represented in Pahl 'friendship's of character might refer to a group identity which is able to bridge across into different social networks without compromising or undermining the individual's social identity in other contexts. For older children particularly friendships can become a greater resource than even the family in the generation and maintenance of secure social identities (Pahl and Spencer, 1997).

Conceiving of friendship in these terms enables the possibility of seeing children as purveyors in their own right of social capital. Ridge and Millar acknowledge that friendship is an important source of social capital in the future, through the social and economic advantage that powerful friendship networks might present. But they also represent effective sources of social capital in the present in terms of protection against the effects of poverty and social exclusion (Perri 6, 1997). Two critical forms of support uncovered in Ridge and Millar's research referred to the role of close friendships as confidants or 'escape valves' whereby children felt safe to share worries and concerns in confidence, free from concern of disclosure which they often felt in communications with adults. The second role was in protection from bullying and teasing offered not only through friends themselves but also through the 'weaker' ties of friend's friends, siblings and parents of friends which were felt to bring a "*protective and inclusive quality to children's lives*" (167).

Ridge and Millar's (1999) research also highlighted the difficulty in maintaining friendships for children who were mobile. The children in this study presented as reluctant movers, who found the disruption to social networks so distressing that some were apprehensive about forging strong ties with peers for fear of losing them again on relocation. Not only was the loss of such friendships found to be a profound cause of unhappiness, it also prevented children from generating a feeling of belonging. This connects with Pahl's observation that "trust implies the absence of fear" (109) and therefore an anxious person will be less able to develop the close ties necessary for friendships of character'. This is because the anxious person projects a version of self which acts as a protective mask as a defence strategy against rejection. Furthermore, some children from Ridge and Millar's study spoke of the fear of being forgotten by close friends lost upon dislocation of which it may be speculated could have a profound effect upon generating sense of self value and self esteem.

2.10.3 The role of friendship for children that move schools

It is therefore important to consider the role of friendship in enabling or hampering children's schooling experiences upon transition to a new school.

This has been explored in relation to the effect of friendship upon academic attainment after formal school transition from primary to secondary school, perhaps the closest research to the experience of turbulent children in relation to friendship. At both the primary and secondary level, Wentzel and Caldwell (1997) found that students who were widely accepted by their peer group tended to achieve better in school. They attributed this to the dependence of children upon their friends for support but also the impact of friendship upon self worth which they argued had a knock on effect on children's schooling achievements (1119). This is supported by Ladd (1990) who found that primary school children who had more friends when entering school as well as those who maintained their friendships and those who made new friends had a more positive view of schooling and achieved better. This supports Blatchford's (1998) view that *"friendships can help reduce uncertainty and thus help adjustment to school"* (88).

Demetriou, Goalen and Ruddick (2000) situate their study of primary and secondary school friendship groups in relation to research into friendship, transition and achievement, in order to describe a significant link between children's peer relationships and academic performance. They explained the positive effect of friends upon achievement through classroom processes whereby children who sat with friends as opposed to simply peers resulted in interaction that involved *"more extensive explanation, rigorous and mutually oriented conversation, and positive emotionality exchanges"* (433). This was found to be more beneficial to children's learning (Newcombe and Brady, 1982). Further research suggested that when a learning task was completed with a friend, children remembered more about it at a later date (Chauvet and Blatchford, 1993).

In relation to the effects of friendship upon the social and behavioural adjustment of children following school transition, useful research exists with children in their early years. Ladd and Kochenderfer (1996) have explored the role of friendships for children in enabling adjustment after school transition. Reflecting the work of Pahl (1998) and Ridge and Millar (1997) they identify anxiety as a key factor preventing a successful adjustment to both the formal

and informal aspects of schooling. In mediating against anxiety, Ladd and Kochenderfer suggest that the peer relationships can act as either stressors or supports in affecting a child's adjustment upon school transition. In the literature these 'supports' have been termed 'adaptational advantages,' (Hartup and Sancillo, 1986) or 'provisions' (Furman and Burmeister, 1985) but all refer to the positive outcomes of building confidence through participation in friendship. Key outcomes identified include; security, worth, belonging, competence, trust, and intimacy.

Three different forms of peer interaction are identified by Ladd and Kochenderfer. The first is 'friendships with individual peers', which must be both voluntary and reciprocal, involving an emotional or affiliative bond which is maintained and controlled by both parties. The second type is 'acquaintances' which involves 'weaker' interpersonal ties than friendship with peers with whom the individual is familiar but not involving close bonds or regular contact. The third type of peer interaction refers to their status in the peer group. It refers to the quality of ties between child and peer group, the degree to which they are liked and accepted within the group dynamic. Unlike other forms of friendship, peer group acceptance was found to be involuntary on the part of the individual. This is because within the classroom context the child becomes part of the 'liking' hierarchy despite the efforts of their interaction (334).

Ladd and Kochenderfer (1996) drew upon past research in acknowledging how for most young children entering a new school will cause feelings of "wariness and insecurity" (336) but how familiarity with friends or even looser connected acquaintances results in less distress and greater confidence to explore and engage (Schwarz, 1972, Ispa, 1981). This may be especially relevant for students who move from primary and onto secondary school together, while for turbulent children such friends and acquaintances will support their moving school. In a study involving the broader notion of child adjustment as described above however, Price and Ladd (1986) acknowledged that only peers categorised as friends in the classroom proved significant in generating a more positive attitude towards school and in lowering school avoidance. This was found to be particularly the case for stable continuous friendships (Howes,

1988) In fact, Ladd and Kochenderfer found in their study that children who maintained prior friendships across the whole first year at the new school were found to develop more positive attitudes towards school and demonstrated greater levels of emotional support and interpersonal skills.

In relation to classroom peer acceptance Ladd and Kochenderfer found that children more highly accepted within the classroom were likely to be more integrated into peer activities both within the classroom and in the playground and demonstrate a greater sense of belongingness, worth, and well being. On the other hand those less accepted children tended to be excluded from peer activities both within and out of the classroom and tended to develop a sense of *“alienation discomfort and incompetence in school.”* (388)

To conclude the significance of these studies with respect the schooling experiences of children in transition, it may be that different forms of peer interaction are important in different ways. Whilst the presence of acquaintances may be important in aiding familiarity necessary to approach learning activities with confidence, the maintenance of stable close friendships may enable deeper emotional wellbeing and facilitate more general forms of social interaction. The status of children in relation to group hierarchies may enable a more general sense of belonging and acceptance in the school community. Such research makes clear the multi-layered complexity of friendships for children such that we might speculate the task of starting afresh to be very daunting for the turbulent child. Taking a longitudinal perspective will be useful in exploring the longevity and fluctuations of friendship for the children of this study. This will enable a closer consideration of the forms of social capital turbulent children have available to them in acknowledging not only the types of peers which comprise children’s social networks, but also the nature of such ties in order to generate a rounded and nuanced understanding of school life.

Taking into consideration the role of friendships by means of including others (bridging social networks) or excluding others (bonding social networks,) and how these processes might connect to different forms of identity construction, we can start to unpack how certain groups of children might come to feel valued within a new community whilst others might feel isolated. Bourdieu’s work

suggests how the turbulent child may come to feel included or excluded according to class factors, however it can be argued that the identities we construct are not reducible solely to our class but rather may connect to cultural values. At this juncture we might turn to work considering the cultural context of life in school in conceptualising school spaces and how we might come to understand them.

2.11 Moving from the external community into the school

The family of social capital theories can be seen to be a good starting point to consider how the social networks within the family, in relation to the wider community, can have an effect upon the experience of the turbulent child. However, by taking a 'within school' perspective the different types of social capital can be explored in terms of the networks a child inhabits, taking as it's standpoint the child (as opposed to the parent) as possessor of social capital. From this standpoint I can explore social links the child experiences external to those of their families. In order to develop an understanding of how certain children may bridge across the external territories of home and community into the territories of the school, we need to move towards a spatial analysis which considers the role of children's spaces and how territories are governed by processes of control and autonomy, ownership and alienation.

Previous research into children's schooling experience has in general failed to treat the school as a *whole* institution in terms of its separate constituent parts of the; playground, the classroom, the school hall and how these fit together in the shaping of the child. This is because recent educational interest in school has primarily been orientated towards the formal aspects of schooling. Of particular attention has been the classroom experience and its role in teaching to the tests (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough and Halsey, 2006). As such the less formal parts of schooling such as the playground and the 'informal 'spaces' of the classroom, have been overlooked. This study, therefore conceptualises the turbulent child's experience in relation to outcomes connected to the *informal* as well as formal aspects of schooling. It takes account of the informal territories of

the school and how they connect to the formal territories in identity construction in presenting a whole account of the schooling experience for children. It is important to consider all these experiences as it may be the turbulent experiences in the different areas of schooling may influence whether the turbulent child is accepted in and is accepting of the school.

The account given below is in two parts, the first theorises the various aspects of the school that turbulent children have to understand and negotiate. In itself this requires a sophisticated degree of learning of the rules and territories that comprise the school. The second concerns those areas of school life in which the child may or may not find themselves accepted as a valued member of the community. The hypothesis is that if turbulent children can learn to negotiate the territories of the school, and not all may, then where they most 'at home' will be in those territories where they are valued. This requires a theorisation of identity construction which takes into consideration the interaction between children and their peers within the differing territories of school.

2.12 Theorising the different territories of the School

2.12.1 The construction of territories

In order to understand the way 'territories' are constructed within school we should start with a spatial analysis of the various aspects of school life. Holloway and Valentine (1998) discuss how the sociology of childhood is situated in a convergence of several fields including; psychology, sociology, health studies and education. They believe that we are better positioned to gain a more rounded conception of child and childhood if we consider the spatial aspects of childhood. If this is so, how then might we approach a spatial analysis of the school? We have acknowledged the multiple spaces of the school and the importance of considering the informal and well as formal schooling experiences. This is because the experience of school for children is about more than just the teaching and learning of the formal curriculum. School

is a site for socialising with friends, practices of eating and drinking, trading and exchanging of goods, activities of sports, games and drama and for some of bullying and exclusion. It is important to consider all these experiences to understand the processes by which the turbulent child may come to feel integrated into school.

Holloway and Valentine (1998) argue that spaces need to be considered in context. They are not bounded spaces but are porous and are constituted by the webs of social connections:

What we get from this is a sense of the porosity of the school- it is not a bounded site, rather it is constructed and reconstructed through it's interconnectivity with wider society. It is through these interconnections that these institutional spaces become sites of control (772).

This account is somewhat loose as it raises the question: if we can't define the spatial boundaries of school, how can we talk about them at all? I suggest that in order to do that we need to draw a definition between *spaces* as physically bounded sites of the classroom, the school hall, or the playground and *territories* which are the symbolic sites transposed upon these spaces.

Territories are spaces in context of the activities which are practiced within them and the rules, rituals, rites and regulations which govern them. For example the main hall is a school space, but this comprises, at different times, the separate territories of the assembly hall, the dinner hall, wet play room and dance hall. Within the same four walls the rules, norms and expectations change according to the territory. These are symbolic territories which have a fluid and temporal relationship with the physical spaces which they occupy. The example of the traveller community is a prime example of the temporal and transient nature of territories in relation to space. A field is a 'site' to the traveller community only so long as the community are communally located within, after which the home territory is up-staked and located elsewhere.

The defining and challenging of rules can be seen to play a central part in the construction of what Holloway and Valentine call spaces, but they do not

expand upon the different types of rules which are employed in territory construction. Here it is necessary to turn to the work of Searle (1995) in order to distinguish between the different types of rules in order to consider how they relate to territories. Searle (1995) distinguishes between constituent and regulative rules. Regulative rules exist as a precautionary in order to establish order. Such rules can be seen to exist so as to establish the smooth running of a territory. These rules could be seen to define the territories of formal education, such as the rule of being quiet within a silent reading lesson. In relation to the school setting regulative rules have a primary function of task management in requiring merely that the child comply as opposed to agree with the purpose of the rule. The second type of rule Searle labels as a 'constituent' rule, which refers to the rules we apply to the social world in order to make it meaningful to us. In this sense constituent rules have an explanatory function in understanding why they exist. These types of rules apply to all territories and activities including, for example, the rules of play. In a successful game of hide and seek the 'seeker' would be required to understand that she need to close her eyes *because* otherwise she would know where the other players were hiding. If the child didn't understand the purpose, she could easily ask another child as to the whereabouts of other players.

Furthermore, we can understand rules as being either *explicit* or *implicit*. Explicit rules are those which are overt and transparent, immediately obvious for anyone entering a new territory. Often in school, rules are displayed openly in dominant places: assembly rules for example up in the main hall, rules for entering and leaving the building at the school office reception desk and classroom rules for formal lessons. These explicit rules may often also be regulative rules within the formal territories of the schooling environment in having a people or task management function.

However, we might understand the types of rules to operate quite differently in the informal schooling context. Bishop and Curtis (2001) see the playground as the most important centre for children's play (Roberts; 1980; Sutton-Smith; 1972) particularly in relation to the potential to "*initiate, discuss, influence and change the rules [of play]*" (Sluckin; 1981; 119). Bishop and Curtis (2001)

problematise the adult agenda of classifying games according to the ‘traditional games’ of the early folklorists (Dundes, 1979). By this they means that adults tend to infer from today’s games that they are the similar or the same as those played when children. However, they claim that this fails to capture the fluidity and process of the rules of games. Despite the difficulties in creating a typology of children’s games in the playground (Blatchford et al, 1990), Curtis (2001) attempted a classification differentiating between verbal, physical and imaginative play. However, she noted this can only ever provide a rough guide due to the point that all children’s playground games are wholly bound by context. The rules of playground games can never be overt, rather they are learned tacitly “*because the means of transmission is by apprenticeship: watching, practicing and learning by rote, all of which takes time*” (2001; 63).

Looking across a range of 9 primary schools within the same area in West Yorkshire, the most striking finding for Curtis was how little common knowledge there was between schools. Even within the same year group, within the same school, games of all three categories would be seen to vary according to the social groups which practiced them. In this way we might understand the informal territories of school to be characterised by implicit rules. These rules can be seen to be often obscure to the outsider and what is more they are constantly in flux in relation to the conduct of the activity.

2.12.2 Territory wardens

Territories are social spaces and therefore to operate there must be a group understanding as to these rules for them to exist at all. For example, the classroom is a learning territory only so long as the learners (and teachers) understand it as such and behave accordingly. Although it is up to the group to adhere to the rules, it is typically a minority of individuals who get to define them. I have labelled these agents ‘territory wardens’. Holloway and Valentine show how within classroom territories, it is frequently the teachers who define the rules and as such I would label teachers to be in most instances the ‘territory wardens’ of formal schooling territories.

However, in her study into the domestic work of children and their relationship to the home, Solberg (1990) shows how within the one home space there are different territories of the home with different rule makers in each territory. Whilst the whole family are present in the home this is the family territory whereby the parents operate as territory wardens defining the rules by which the family acts. It could be acknowledged that within the family territory the child may well have to abide by regulative rules with which they might not agree with or understand such as 'go to bed at nine o'clock', 'tidy your room' 'wash the dishes'. However Solberg also describes the phenomenon of the 'home-staying child' who has occupancy of the home for long periods of time whereby neither parent nor other adult is present. In this 'home staying' territory *"the child has a large amount of self determination as well as determination over the dwelling"* (131). As such it can be acknowledged that during their time in the home without parents present the family territory is replaced by the 'home-staying territory' in which it is the child who is territory warden and defines her own constitutive rules as well as the possible regulative rules of her siblings and friends who might occupy the territory.

Similarly in schools, whilst teachers might always be the space wardens in defining the rules in school spaces, they are only wardens of the formal curriculum territories such as the English lesson, the games lesson and the assembly territory. As Iverson and Duveen (2006) have shown in some types of classroom, territories can open up in which children can develop informal hierarchies of power and in which *"there was room for children to engage in extensive forms of interaction and negotiation often completed unnoticed by teachers"* (123). This means that within the informal territories, the assignment of territory warden is a more open process negotiated by peer group members themselves. Of course this is often not an overt process but rather tacitly organised along emergent lines. As such the wardens of social territories are subject to flux and change and open to contestation. For example, let us take the football territory which is created during lunchtime. This territory is drawn up before commencement using the markers of jumpers and bags for the boundaries of the pitch and goal nets. At crucial moments resistance might

break out as to whether a goal is allowed or a player off side and whilst competing voices may conflict, ultimately the group must cohere with one such account if the game is to continue. It is the chief proponents of the 'winning' account that we can understand as territory wardens. Frequently this may be the most popular child, the most confident or even the most intimidating. It may also be that when teachers refer to children as 'a leader' these may frequently be the wardens of informal social territories. This view is supported Rosser and Harre (1976) who noted in their research with secondary school children that there were one or two more dominant players whose recognition and endorsement was sought by other children.

2.12.3 Functions of the territory warden

The territory warden(s) can be understood to have three main functions in relation to defining the territory. The first of these is as rule maker in relation to the drawing up of rules as previously discussed. The second role is of arbiter, managing discordances in the group. The third role is that of gatekeeper in determining group membership by deciding who will enter and who will exit the territory.

These functions are important to acknowledge in order to consider how access might be negotiated by children wishing to enter a new territory. It is argued that in order to negotiate access into school territories there are three components: (i) to know the existing rules of the territory (ii) membership to the territory is recognised by the territory warden(s) and (iii) membership is recognised by the rest of the membership group.

2.12.4 The battle for control over and autonomy within territory

The contestation over a territory can involve both children in the informal territories and teachers and children in territories that are nominally in the control of teachers. James et al (1998) argue that spaces (or what I label

territories) are never neutral locations, rather they are governed by (adult) processes of control and regulation over children's mind and body "*through regimes of discipline, learning, development, maturation and skill*" (p38). Holloway and Valentine (1998) show how within these adult governed spaces such as the classroom children are able to challenge the rules of the territory in order to create territories of their own. They give the example of a group of girls who conspire to challenge the boisterous antics of the boys in dominating the lunch time computer club. In doing so, the girls join forces and approach a member of staff to complain that they feel excluded from the computer club. In response this teacher arranges a 'girls only' computer room and as such the pupils achieved the creation of a new territory whereby they have far greater control. Children can therefore be seen to be active in the negotiation of territorial politics, in challenging the spatial boundaries and negotiating new spaces in which they have greater power.

This section has presented a justification for the importance of a spatial analysis with regards understanding the schooling experience. It has distinguished between formal and informal school territories and considered the types of rules which are involved in the construction and governing of such territories. Central in the process of rule making can be seen the territory wardens by whom territory members must negotiate access and autonomy. In order to consider the significance and meaning of territories for children it is now necessary to consider the role of schooling territories for children in relation to the construction of self valuing identities. The question of identity construction is important for two reasons, the way a child's school identity is constructed may help to determine the social capital she can access in relationship to friends, peers and teachers as well as providing a way of understanding how her activities in the school's territories can give her a sense of self-value. The following model of identity construction positions the turbulent child as involved in the task of identity building through her engagement and interactions with others within the formal and informal territories of school. This perspective enables us to consider the role of agency and autonomy on the one hand and control and structure on the other in shaping this process.

2.13 Part one: Outlining a theory of identity construction

The earlier discussion on social capital networks which in many cases may be formed through the various kinds of friendship has thus far lead to a focus upon the role of social capital networks in identity formation. Through taking such a focus upon identity construction I argue that it is possible to render the schooling experiences comprehensible in relation to the child's broader experiences of turbulence.

At this juncture it is necessary to present a model as to how we may understand the various components of identity construction in school as well as how these components interrelate in the shaping of what I've termed self valuing identities. These are the identities children present in school through which they strive to generate a sense of value. There are three parts to my understanding of such identities which can be used to explain my theory. This theory refers to the extent to which we as individuals are free to shape our identities in the means of our own choosing, and the extent to which external conditions shape our identities in ways which are outside of our control. It is notable that these three elements involved in identity formation relate to a constructivist rather than essentialist view of identity. However one that is qualified by the structures that pupils need to negotiate and or respond to. These components are presented in the table below.

Table 1. A model of identity construction

Identity Components	Examples
1. Structural factors – in producing certain physical or material conditions to which the individual will have to respond.	Macro- i.e. social class Meso – i.e. turbulence Micro – i.e. in class ability groupings

2. Performance Created through children's actions and interactions in school.	Academic: in the form of formal learning outcomes. Or Embodied: in the form of teacher and peer interaction and agency in different schooling contexts.
3. Narratives - in terms of the stories told to explain and make meaningful the performance.	Stories we tell others of ourselves. Stories we tell ourselves of who we are. Stories others tell us of who we are. Stories children tell researchers.

2.13.1 Structural Factors

The first component 'structural factors' refer to any external influence upon the individual's life and experiences which are outside of the individual's control and yet exert an influence on identity formation in producing certain physical or material conditions with which the individual will have to respond to. These may be internal or external to the school and might create temporary or more significant and enduring effects. We can understand these structural factors as manifesting differently and operating within a number of different levels.

Structural factors affecting children's schooling identities at the macro level ³ can be understood as exerting a greater influence upon individuals in their roles in shaping the other two levels as they impose conditions which it is difficult to escape as they are rooted in the very ideology and practice of a society. Examples may be given the effect of social class or the labour market which

³ The categories 'macro' 'meso' and 'micro' are adapted from Broffebrenner's (1977) ecological model of human development which refers to the individual's relationship with his/her social context(s). It is useful in providing a typology by which we may construe the structural factors of the social environment. He understands the social environment as operating upon a number of different levels. This includes; the microsystem which refers to the individual's immediate physical and social environment, the mesosystem referring to relations between different settings in which the child is involved eg school and home, and the macrosystem which refers to the organisation of a given society and the prevailing ideologies determining beliefs and values and conditions of that society.

can be understood as exerting significant and enduring influence upon schooling identities. Structures at the macro level can create conditions which effect the meso level, which in this context is understood as structures within the other spheres of a child's life (home and the community) external to the school. Meso level structural factors which might themselves be responses to macro structures such as the labour market and social class, include the experience of moving, poverty and family trauma. These represent external events or experiences which happen to the child outside of school, and yet produce effects or responses which may be enduring and play a role in shaping identities inside school. Micro level structural factors refer to the immediate settings of the school, physical or symbolic boundaries which have a role in the division and organisation of children. An example of structural factors which may have an influence upon identity construction within school might be the groupings or sets in which the child is placed on account of his/her perceived ability. A core component of structural factors affecting identity construction is that some of their effects can be observed physically or materially in terms of the conditions they impose upon the child. However, whilst their effects are observable, the conditions, rules, regulations and expectations which govern such effects are controlled by processes of power which may not be directly visible. In this way we can understand schooling territories as representing micro structural factors which impose the parameters within which children's identities can be shaped. For example, through being present within classroom territories, children must construct an identity in relation to the formal classroom context, whether this is conformist or resistant. Such identities may or may not differ within playground territories. Whether they do and why is a matter, in part, for empirical research. Within schools such processes of power and control inevitably require enforcement through more powerful others (teachers and school staff), upon less powerful others (the child and her peers). However, this does not assume a simple active/ passive distribution of power and subordination between child and rule maker but as research by Solberg (1990) and Holloway and Valentine (1998) suggests, this process comprises of struggles over power and autonomy within the contested spheres of school.

2.13.2 Performance

The second component of identity formation in schools is performance. Performances which are created through pupils' actions and interactions in school, take either academic expression through formal learning outcomes, or embodied expression through social action and interactions with others in both formal and informal settings.

The 'academic' performative element refers to the formal learning outputs of pupil's action in school which since the early 1990's have been increasingly informed through standardised national testing indicators. This has led to a greater emphasis upon national, school and class based hierarchies in the formation of judgements about the pupil (Broadfoot and Pollard, 2006).

The embodied expression of performance is created through social actions with others in school, be they teachers or peers. Whilst such actions may well include others, their role in identity construction refers to the physical expression of identification, that is the ways in which identities are embodied and played out by the child. This would manifest in children's interactions with others in school and their behaviours in different schooling contexts. For example, playing football well or being good at maths may contribute to the forming of certain types of self-valuing identity.

Rosser and Harre (1976) view social action as a form of performance. In this way the individual is playing out a role in relation to their interpretation of the activity and the value of their actions as perceived by other group members. They believe that the relationship between social actors and their performance is determined by factors including: their abilities to act in the setting, their knowledge of what actions are required to achieve what ends and a theorisation as to what the process means to others. These factors can be seen to mirror those components needed to gain access to a new territory. Central within this is "*local knowledge of the rules and meanings of action*"(172). This combination of knowledge (of the rules) and of owning the abilities (including confidence) to act according to such rules, necessarily prompts the question as to how well

equipped children are in relation to the activities practiced in schools. As discussed earlier such abilities to understand and act can be seen to connect to the role of culture. Activities are invariably vested with greater or lesser degree of value in relation to wider cultural recognition. In this way cultural value has a big part to play in the mediation of the value of activities in relation to the wider school culture, which as could be seen in the case of Mia the traveller and Elspeth the show-jumper, may be inclusive or exclusive.

The performative element of identity construction must be understood in relation to wider structural factors being the schooling territories and the dominant community-school culture in that it represents the responses of children to the structural conditions imposed. As such there may be many different and sometimes conflicting performances which the child acts out within the formal and informal territories of school. I am interested in the nature of such performances and whether they can translate between the different territories of the classroom, the playground and the community. This discussion has highlighted some of the conditions necessary in order to act, but what of the motivations behind the types of performance children engage in within school? Why does a child engage in some performances and not others? To understand this it is necessary to consider the role of performance in construction social group identities.

2.13.3 Narratives

Whilst the parameters in which performances may be expressed are governed by the structural factors both external and internal to school, they are inextricably tied to the final component of identity construction, which is narrative.

In exploring the connection between learning and socio-cultural context Sfard and Prusak (2005) problematised concepts of 'belief' and 'attitude' which have previously been used to account for this relationship. Fundamentally they believed that such concepts appeared to be reducible to essentialist foundations and somehow outside of the researcher's spectrum. In explaining

this difficulty in pinning down such concepts Sfard and Prusak refer to Blumer's critique of the three conditions necessary in order to render a concept researchable in relation to beliefs and attitudes:

The available descriptions did not specify what one should look at while trying to pinpoint attitudes [or beliefs] did not say what should not be considered as a member of a class, and did not enable accumulation of knowledge (1969;15).

As Blumer (1969) and later Geertz (1973) argued, this is because 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' are treated by social researchers as if they were occupying a kind of ephemeral plain in that their existence was seen to precede and indeed motivate action. As such they were extra- discursive, located in the self and as such naturally given. In defining such concepts outside of human interaction they therefore become invisible, innately subjective and therefore disconnected from socio-cultural contexts.

In contrast Sfard and Prusak argue that identity is a much more useful concept because it enables an understanding of 'beliefs' and 'attitudes' to be located within and constructed by the social environment; through interactions between people, through individual action but especially through discourse in theorising the significance of the action.⁴

⁴ Harre (1998) has a similar view of identity which he understands the 'self' as having three aspects. Firstly, that it is "*a site from which a person perceives the world and a place from which to act*" (3). He does not see the self as an entity disembodied and ephemeral. In this respect the self does not exist in a vacuum, independent of others' consciousness. Whilst the self must be aware of oneself this is relative, context bound and situated in relation to others. Secondly, and significantly, for my purposes that another aspect of the 'self' refers to an individual's sense of their own personal attributes with the emphasis upon one's *belief* about their attributes as opposed to the attributes per se. When we come to look at the way children view themselves as learners and as part of a peer group in schools this assumes critical importance. These sets of attributes can be very diverse, exist in varying degrees of transience or permanence, some located intrinsically and others existing only in relation to the external material world. As such individual attributes might reside in the individual but they are mobilised externally through action. The third aspect of self Harre writes of refers to the "*impression of [the] personal characteristics that one person makes on another.*" (4). Implicit in this is that the self requires the recognition of others through action. The purposes and indeed consequences of such action can be seen to be perceived through the social effects that they create. Through this perspective I can use self -valuing identities in terms of lived aspects of self, directly relational to the ways in which the self perceives, interprets and acts upon the social world. However, this account raises questions about the relationship between the self and identity which is outside the remit of this thesis.

Nevertheless Sfard and Prusak recognised that identity as a concept is not without its difficulties, for despite common usage within contemporary literature this is “*rarely preceded by any explanation*” (2005; 15). Sfard and Prusak aimed to redress this problem in their attempt to render a definition of identity that can be operationalised by the educational researcher. They achieve this through an account of the ‘narrative defined identity’(17). This is founded upon the belief that identity is not extra-discursive but rather emerges from the act of communication, notably self-dialogues proclaiming the narratives we tell ourselves of who we are (Gonzales; 1999, Hall, 1996, Gee 2001). As Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998) tell us these are the most important stories we tell:

People tell others who they are , but even more importantly, they tell themselves and they try to act as though they are who they say they are (3).

Sfard and Prusak believe that some of the most significant stories told refer to “*one’s memberships in, or exclusions from, various communities*” (17). These kinds of identity making narratives have various forms including: bAc where A is the identified person, b is the author and c is the recipient; bAa, where a is the identified person but also the recipient of the story; aAc, where the identified person is also the author of the story. Whilst these multiple stories may offer conflicting or contradictory accounts, nevertheless they comprise a rich tapestry of the multiple identities which the individual draws upon in making sense of self. This prompts the question; how can this be achieved? To answer this question requires reference to the narrative which Sfard and Prusak believe to be the most significant story of all: the aAa story which constitutes our continuous involvement in a one way conversation with ourselves. They believe it is the aAa story which is likely to have the strongest bearing on our actions. Could this story be the common thread which ties together the stories people tell us of ourselves, and our perceptions of the stories told between others of us? Although the aAa story accompanies us wherever we go, how much faith can we stake on it without reference to other stories about ourselves? Therefore it may be that in the absence of other stories of self the aAa narratives or the particular aAa stories which cement a self of self worth (self valuing identities) are of particular importance for the turbulent child. This is because the difficulty

for the turbulent child is the absence of others, such as friends and peers who can provide bAa stories that enable the child to provide a consistent and relatively stable account of their aAa story.

This discussion underlines three key points in the process of generating and maintaining a self-valuing schooling identity. Firstly, self valuing identities take place with respect to processes of group identification. Secondly, processes of group identification are illustrated to self and others through social action. The third is that these social actions are 'self' organised so as to create narratives that enable social actions to have coherence and meaning.

However, in order to explore the significance of schooling social networks and the role of friendship in building self valuing identities for turbulent children, it is necessary to consider the centrality of self endorsement in identification with the social group. At this stage we should turn to the role of peer groups, which through their function in self endorsement (or alternatively rejection) can be understood to be a key element in the construction of a child's narrative about herself.

2.14 The role and functions of social group identities in school

Sheriff (2007) has looked at the way that individuals will strive to define themselves as 'appropriate' members of a particular social group through the activity of group to group comparison. In his work into notions of masculinity for adolescent boys in secondary school, Sheriff found the role of peer group to be of central importance. He points to the literature of social identity theory (SIT) and its associated concepts of self categorisation, social comparison and self enhancement motivation (Turner; 1985, Turner et al 1987) in describing why it is that group memberships are translated in our minds as social identities which go on to define our behaviour in a given social context. This means that the activity children will engage in through the process of identity construction, will have a specific purpose of group affiliation; *"the group or social category to which one belongs provides a (self) definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of that group"* (Sheriff, 2007; 350-351).

Sheriff observes that as people belong to a number of social groups it follows that the self is conceptualised as a collection of social identities, each of which is associated with membership in a social group or category, this is called self categorisation. It follows that because a significant element of our social identity is tied up in these membership groups as such we are inclined to view them positively and respect ourselves within them. In order to generate this group endorsement social groups require comparison with other groups: to be in the in-group necessarily involves an out-group. This is similar to Putnam's (2000) discussion of bonding identities which are inclusive of the in-group whilst being exclusive of all those who don't conform to the narrow characteristics which comprise the group's identity. This identification enables self enhancement through a positive group to group comparison which Sherriff calls inter-group bias. Recent studies have shown that the more that the individual identifies with their group, the greater the extent of inter-group bias they will display. (Hinkle and Brown, 1990; Brown, 2000; Lipponen et al, 2003). Using Putnam's notion of bridging and bonding, it follows that the 'bonding' social group which develops within its members a very strong sense of group identification will in doing, so deter the 'bridging' of members into other social groups. Therefore, we might expect that the child who is bonded tightly to one social group will be prompted to conceptualise the social group more favourably in relation to others, whereas the child who bridges between several social groups places less significance of the favourability of any one social group in comparison with counterpart social groups.

Whilst this discussion may explain the importance of group membership in endorsing the individual's identity and how inter-group comparison plays a role in influencing the construction of the individual, the work of Covington (1977) can be seen to develop an understanding about how the child generates the endorsement within the social group. Covington suggested that a child's sense of self value is crucial to their educational success. As with Harre (1998), he believed that this self value must be connected to tangible outcomes; actions, behaviours or activities which he labelled 'achievement behaviour' (3). In this way we can recognise that the child can manifest the group behaviours Sheriff describes to varying degrees of success. A key factor in whether the child

accomplishes the achievement behaviour which defines group allegiance is that of confidence such that it is not the factual existence of a child's achievement, but it is her or his perceptions on the achievement which is crucial. Here we might recognise that the role of confidence and anxiety in relation to hierarchies of performance can be seen to be key factors in the child's performance and perceptions of their activity in relation to recognition and endorsement by their peers.

2.14.1 Examples of social group identities in-school

One significant study which represents an attempt to theorise social identities of children in school can be found in the work of Andrew Pollard (1987) who was specifically interested in the types of learner identities children present in school. Pollard's study is a good example of illustrating the role of confidence and anxiety in relation hierarchies of performance, and in demonstrating how this is played out through group to group comparison.

Pollard identifies three types of identity in terms of the social groups which child identifies with. He defined these identity types as "*goodies, jokers and gangs*" (165). The 'joker' social group could be seen as the social group at the top of the performance hierarchy in class and represented a bridging social network. They were described by teachers as academically bright, they were active in the playground being good at sports and dominant in the classroom. Furthermore they "enjoyed a fairly close rapport with many teachers which was one of the main distinguishing features of the joker group" (171). In this way it can be seen how the 'joker' identity which defines the group is able to adapt and be successful across different contexts; the classroom, the playground and even out of school at the local football club. Whilst being popular with other children in the playground the jokers were also popular and forged good social relations with teachers.

The 'goodies' consisted of all girls which represented a mid point on the performance hierarchy in school. Teachers considered this group to be of moderate ability and whilst not being a gregarious or confident in class as the

'jokers' these children were hardworking and quiet in class. They weren't sporty but their attitudes towards peers as well as their teachers "was generally favourable and deferential" (168). This group didn't possess the confidence to contribute in class to the extent of the jokers, but their social identity was still compatible with the rules and expectations of the formal classroom context through hard work and eagerness to please the teacher. The gang group in contrast could be understood as operating the lowest position in the performance hierarchy in class. They were the least academically successful and characterised by "relatively greater 'roughness' and very uneasy degree of cohesion [with other pupils]" (173). The gang group was least popular with peers and teachers and "could be regarded as having anti-school values in many ways" (177). The rebellious gang identity can be seen to struggle to adapt successfully to the different contexts of the classroom and the playground. Whilst members might strengthen their group identity, smoking cigarettes behind the bike shed at break-times, they are unable to adapt successfully in the classroom context to forge links with powerful others (teachers) so as to benefit the group in a different context. The performance of this social group was antithetical to the formal learning outcomes as being low attaining the group members struggled to compete with the other peer groups in relation to formal learning outcomes. This group represented the most resistant social group demonstrating behaviour that disrupted and aggravated the other peer groups in the classroom.

In Pollard's analysis it is these identities as 'joker', 'goodie' or 'gang' which defined the activities and behaviour of children within school. They would cause the 'goodie' children to work hard and sensibly whilst the 'jokers' would work hard and have fun, and the 'gangs' to be disruptive and resistant to formal learning in class. This research demonstrates that these activities and the culture within which they are embedded can be seen as a resource that children can use in the construction of their own identities. Although it will be a resource that is taken up because others see in the activities and performance of the child something of value: in other words, a child will only be enabled to generate a self of value if this identity is endorsed by others within the same social group within the activity based territory. However, endorsement of the social identity

within the social group might also involve rejection by those outside the social group, such as could be seen in relation to the gangs of Pollard's study.

These examples of self valuing identities in school as found in Pollard's study can be used to illustrate the work of Rosser and Harre's (1976) Covington (1977) and Sheriff (2007) in underlining the importance of feeling valued in undertaking any given social activity. They acknowledge that a person's social identity or 'presentation of self' is directly relational to recognition and endorsement within the distinct territories. Rosser and Harre's theory of social action requires that "*behaviour is not just a matter of following the rules, but of appearing to be the appropriate kind of person in each situation*" (172).

Sfard and Prusak's (2006) account of narrative is illuminating in enabling a more nuanced account of the role of performance than the one that Pollard (1987) gives. Whilst Pollard states it is the identity which define the behaviour Sfard and Prusak (2006) would argue that it is the act of arranging actions into a coherent narrative which builds and reaffirms the identity. By conceptualising identity as constructed through the narrative arrangement of social actions and activities in which the child engages we are able to conceive of it as fluid and in process, as opposed to being something which is rigidly fixed. In contrast, Pollard's identity types were consistent throughout their different schooling contexts be it the classroom or games hall.

In conclusion, the identities the child deems to be of value to her is central in the activities she practices and the territories she occupies, but this is a mutually reinforcing process whereby confidence builds a child's sense of self value through her demonstration of group allegiance through her performance (Pollard, 1987). In this context the narrative element of identity construction, refers to the stories children engage in as accounts of their performances; in effect they represent the reasoning and rationalisation processes behind the social actions of a child. For example the narrative behind the child that is disengaged and disruptive in lessons may be: "I am stupid, I am not worthy of being taught". These stories may be (and are) both internal and external.

External narratives refer to the stories children tell others of who they are (and these may be contradictory), they also refer to the stories that others will tell the child of who they are. Internal stories may be the most fundamental of narratives in relation to self valuing identities in that they refer to the stories that children tell themselves of who they are. It is possible to understand performance and narrative as being involved in a cyclical relationship whereby whilst narratives may explain performances, performance are in turn motivated by the stories (of self) so these two components are mutually reinforcing.

However, whilst some self valuing identities support (and are supported by) the values of the school, for others there is a disjuncture. Through an appreciation of the identities the child inhabits and how these bond or bridge across the territories of the school we can appreciate how it might be that some turbulent children may be isolated, overlooked or excluded. This presents a theory to account for the within schooling contribution to the penalty turbulent children have been shown to experience. It is now necessary to apply this model to the experience of the turbulent child so as to flesh out the possible barriers or resources by which the child may set about the building of self valuing identities.

2.15 Part two: the significance of self valuing for turbulent children.

Having theorised the key aspects of school life in terms of how they relate to the construction of self valuing identities, it is now possible to consider how social capital might impact upon the experience of school for the turbulent child. It has been suggested that the contextual nature of schooling identities are specific to the territories of the school and the performances contained within, as well as how the narratives motivate as well as construct interpretations of these performances. Here the key is the importance of recognition and endorsement in creating identities of self value which are constructed in relation to shared forms of social group identity.

Therefore, we can understand that at point of entry the turbulent child is defined by a schooling identity as that of a 'stranger' and as such has to 'remake' themselves in building self valuing identities which can work in the new schooling contexts. This presents a dual learning mechanism which is crucial as to whether the child is integrated into aspects of school life. The first level of learning refers to generating an understanding of the new territories of the school, including the rules, rituals, norms and expectations that comprise and govern them, which are often tacit and opaque. The second level of learning refers to the social groups which operate within the territories of school and the process of negotiation required to form allegiance with one or more social groups. I have argued that a focus upon identity construction offers a way to understand the relationship between a social group and social capital. Through gaining entry to the new social group(s) in establishing a self valuing identity recognised and endorsed within the group(s), the child is positioned to mobilise the resources of that group in generating a successful experiences of the different aspects of school life. It may be that what is required to achieve these ends is entry into a social group which offers a balance between processes of bridging and bonding (Putnam, 2000). An element of bridging is essential to enable to turbulent child to cross between the formal and informal territories in generating a self valuing identity which is valid across each, whilst an element of bonding is required in order to solidify the role of s social group in fostering friendships. However, as it has been previously argued, a social group bonded too tightly may restrict the ability to bridge.

This *negotiation* of access into the new schooling social groups is key to whether the new pupil can construct (or reconstruct) self valuing identities that can be made to 'work' in different school contexts. Just as the individual must respond to the structural conditions of their situation which are outside of their control, other people also respond to our own narratives and performances and on account of those responses we might have to tailor our identity stories to make them work in different contexts.

So what are the territories of the schools of this study and which are the social groups in which the turbulent child orientates towards within the formal and informal parts of school? For the purposes of understanding the turbulent experience we are less interested in the values of these social group identities in their own terms and more concerned with how the associated performances and narratives of the social groups enable or hamper the bridging social capital required to cross between the formal and informal school territories. The aim is to gain an understanding of what goes on within these territories in order to shed light upon the extent to which the child is able to move with ease between the informal and formal parts of school and generate a positive experience within the respective territories. The focus in this study is therefore upon the types of self valuing identities that the turbulent child constructs in school and whether they require reconstruction upon transition to secondary school. As researcher I recognise that children may be differentially resourced to carry out this activity. The process of constructing and reconstructing self valuing identities can be seen to parallel the child's reconstitution of social capital. As such a consideration of the child's engagement with the practice of identity making and the role of social capital in this process provides a unique lens into a broader view of the child's schooling experience and the factors which shape it.

2.16 The Research questions

The overall research aim of this study is to explore the educational penalty associated with low-income turbulent pupils. This literature review and the theoretical framework which it lends this study enabled the development of six key research questions which are each pertinent in providing a guide for doing this.

1. What is the experience of schooling for children who are turbulent?
2. What kinds of relationships do they have with peers, teachers and family?
3. What are their orientations to learning, and the formal aspects of schooling?

4. Are there patterns to their experience and behaviour which may suggest explanations for the penalties they suffer?

5. How do these explanations critically inform the theories used in quantitative studies into the effects of turbulence?

6. How can schools improve their practices in relation to turbulent pupils?

The following chapter will discuss the methodological reasoning required to translate these questions into an operative research design. It also outlines my journey through the research process, the challenges which were encountered and the decisions which were made.

3. Methodology Chapter

As discussed in the previous chapter, understanding the turbulent experience within schools requires a qualitative micro focus upon the behaviours, interactions, thoughts and feelings of those involved. However, there are different ways of understanding the epistemological basis for qualitative studies which will be outlined below.

3.1 A critical realist position

A qualitative perspective can be distinguished from a quantitative approach in recognising that the world is constructed by and through it's 'knowers' or what Scott (2000) has described as 'communities of knowers' (12). This is because meaning can only be ascribed through the conceptual schema which enables us to decode and situate the world through language and other symbol systems in order to make sense of it. Yet within qualitative approaches there is disagreement as to where to locate the 'real' world in recognising the constructive power of the individual in interpreting the world. Approaches such as phenomenology (Heidegger, 1962), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1984) and social constructivism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) espouse a relativist position in which 'reality' can only ever be known through the social constructions of individuals. Therefore in changing the conceptual framework we use in order to register and process reality, we actually change the nature of reality itself. The progressive potential of a relativist position resides in the equal acknowledgment given to all versions of truth. In cases where 'truth' or indeed history is often seen as the preserve of the powerful, then such a relativist view of truth can be seen as emancipatory (Young, 1971). On the other hand, the implication that no one account of 'truth' is superior to another suggests that different claims as to truth must co-exist whilst never engaging with each other nor striving towards a point of agreement that one view or theory is better than another is describing and/or explaining the world. This is what Bhaskar (1989)

refers to as superidealism whereby “*each mind creates its own world without reference to the way other minds create their world*” (Scott, 2000;13).

Paradoxically from a relativist perspective what we are left with is a position whereby disputes, each having equal merit, must be settled by the exercise of power whereby the dominant with the loudest voice, necessarily has the greatest say. To deny the real world exists therefore may deny the rights of the powerless to challenge the means of their subordination with our best claims to knowledge. I will develop, therefore, a position which acknowledges the real world as separate from the knower whilst retaining the significance of the subjective, but nevertheless within a culturally informed conceptual framework which makes such a world meaningful. Such a view can admit of structures, which although they cannot necessarily be seen or articulated as such by the students in my study, may act in important ways upon them. How we understand these structures will be determined by the theories we adopt.

The position that is most consistent with this approach is that of critical realism as it has most clearly articulated an epistemology and ontology that coheres with the model of identity construction I developed in the previous chapter. Scott (2000) provides a clear account of some of the basic tenets of a realist approach in its application to educational research:

There are real objects in the world which do not depend for their existence on whether they are known by anyone or everyone (2).

In the case of educational research these ‘objects’ refer to the institutionalised power forms or structures which underpin the educational setting. Such ‘objects’ are not open to appearance in any obvious way. Whilst they can be considered real in the sense that they have tangible effects, they must be ‘interpreted’ through observation and interaction with those subject to the deeper lying structural forces of these objects. Within an educational context such subjects refer to those who are part of an educational system: teachers, school staff and of course the pupils. Not only do processes of theoretical interpretation apply to the subjects of these forces but also to researchers themselves who are intimately involved in the production of knowledge about these objects and the

structures underlying them. As such, an endeavour for educational research is to examine; *“real structural properties at each time point, interpretations of those structures by relevant social actors... the intentions of players in the game... the unintended consequences of actions; the subsequent effect of those intended and unintended actions on structural properties”* (3).

The realist educational researcher will therefore be required to examine the relationship between the structural forces which have enduring effects upon their subjects and the agency with which subjects are able to manage and respond to these forces so as to mediate their effects. Within my study the structural forces refer to the factors that have led to students being turbulent such as, labour market and family structures and within the school the presence or absence of social capital which enables or prevents turbulent children accessing and moving between formal and informal territories and the power relations underlying these forms of social capital.

Whilst these structures can be seen to be relatively enduring, there are however degrees of agential freedom (Archer, 1995). Agential freedom refers to the individual child's opportunity to respond to and mediate these forces whether for the better or the worse in terms of their experience of school. For example, the values which underpin the rites, regulations, norms and expectations which characterise the school may be challenged by the students and changed, although this is unlikely at the primary level. In recognising the mutual interplay of structure and agency across time we can understand how structural forces maybe be reproduced or alternatively be subject to change in the creation of new properties and powers. In order to explore this interplay we have to contextualise the knower (agent) in relation to what is known (structural forces). This requires a refinement of my realist position towards that of critical realism.

Williams (1999) outlines the three principles of the critical realist position in relation to structure and agency such that it is not an 'either/or' dualism but rather the coexistent of these alternate power forms which shape how we may come to understand social reality. The first principle is the recognition of *intransitive entities* which exist independently of their identification. Knowledge

comprises of intransitive objects which exist and act independently of it (Bhaskar;1989;68) and *transitive* objects which affect one another in the social world, in being constructed through interaction with each other. Transitive objects are shaped through the structures, agents and language of the social world whilst intransitive objects are unaffected. In contrast to the transitive principle, the intransitive means that the nature of real objects places limitations upon how we may construe them. The second principle is that these entities involve the *transfactuality of mechanisms*. This refers to continuous activities which are founded upon relatively enduring properties and powers. The emphasis is upon the notion of being *relatively* enduring. They are not totally immutable as the very nature of such intransitive entities is their capacity to change shape and form which defines the nature of what Archer (1995) has defined as a 'morphogenetic' society. The third principle refers to the recognition that reality is stratified, which means that not all that comprises the social world can be seen but may underlie the observable. This underpins the rejection, by critical realists of any notion of scientific endeavour that relies only on experiential data. In addition, this recognition calls for the introduction of the notion of temporality into any explanatory account of reality. This means that all events are conditional upon the past antecedents which underpin their materialisation.

3.1.1 *Understanding and explanation from a critical realistic position*

A major development in how we can understand critical realism comes through the publication by Fairclough, Jessop and Sawyer (2004) who strive to maintain the distinction between transitive and intransitive dimensions of social enquiry which they see to be a fundamental aspect of the critical realist endeavour. They also have a particular take on the role of semiosis (meaning making) which maintains this distinction and is helpful for my purposes in applying the theoretical model of identity construction to my methodological approach. At the heart of the role of narrative in a critical realist frame for this study is the way it situates notions of 'understanding' and 'explanation' in the research endeavour. Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer argue that explanations for human behaviour in the social world can only be evaluated in their causal effectiveness through the

operation of semiosis. They argue that critical realists have often taken semiosis for granted, without really developing an account of its role in the relationship between cause and effect. Discourse analysts on the other hand have discussed semiosis as performative that is purposive and therefore causal. However, the ways that semiosis may produce effects has been somewhat overlooked which Fairclough Jessop and Sayer attribute to the discordance in agreement as to the nature of understanding and explanation in the social sciences.

This argument can be seen to hinge upon the interpretation and application of the term 'causal' with reference to the social and natural sciences. In the natural sciences the relationship between explanation and understanding has been founded on the concept of the 'constant conjunction' association between cause and effect which is associated with a Humean account of causality. This constant conjunction account of causation relates to an empiricist perspective which seeks to identify regular laws of causation which affect objects in the natural world:

When A plus B happens, C will necessarily follow

Because such rules or laws are based on a 'constant' association between A and B it is sufficient to know that this happens, without reference to the generative mechanisms by which A plus B will cause C.

Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2004) argue that such a concept of causality is insufficient for the study of the natural and social world. This is because of their development of the concept of knowledge construction which challenges the dominant position which assumes the real world presents itself in an unadulterated manner for comprehension through empirical observation. In positioning the social scientist as subject in a mutually constitutive relationship with her object (the social world) it is impossible to consider the validity of knowledge separate from the theoretical frames of reference which informs it, nor from social activity of the language communities through which such theories emerge (Sawyer, 2000). Human communication cannot be defined by

regulative laws in that any intentionality or reason motivating the semiotic process can never guarantee a standard response, as such reason attached to the semiotic process cannot be said to be causative in the Humean sense. This is because whilst humans might be restricted to the linguistic (or extra-linguistic) registers of the discursive practice, meaning making as an outcome will be tailored by the individual properties of those involved in the communication exchange which will in turn affect material outcomes prompted by such exchange. As such it is essential to understand the generative mechanisms producing the identified outcome: or rather, an understanding of why A interacted as it did with B under the given circumstances in order to make sense of the outcome C.

Because of the multiple components involved in the semiotic process relativists have rejected a consideration of generative mechanisms in arguing that it is sufficient to understand the unique circumstances which linked A to B in causing C, without seeking to extrapolate such outcomes to produce more general mechanisms. It is for this reason that they consider the aim of social science to be understanding rather than explanation because understanding can only apply to specific contexts, discourse and language games. As such, the role of explanations from the relativist perspective sees them as “propositions that pre-ceed or accompany behaviour and must simply be ‘understood’” (25). In this case there is no need for the generative mechanisms to explain behaviour, as any attempt to extrapolate from the individual case would be inappropriate. Fairclough Jessop and Sayer argue that whilst communication exchange between individuals may be a unique semiotic experience it is reference to the broader intentional context in which such exchange is couched which enables such exchange to be meaningful on a social level.

The issue of causality can be seen to connect to a broader epistemological concern about the role of semiosis with regards the nature of knowledge. On this subject Fairclough Jessop and Sayer (2004) make the following observations:

Just because the relation of reference between individual lexemes or phrases and objects to which they refer is not one-to-one or self-sufficient, it does not follow that language and ways of thinking are unconstrained by the world. Not just anything can be constructed. This does not mean that the differentiations and qualities of the world dictate the content of knowledge- for the latter is a fallible construction and to assume otherwise is to commit the ontic fallacy. But nor is the world or being dependent on knowledge- if one assumes that it is commits the epistemic fallacy. This pair of arguments is important in helping us to disambiguate 'construction' into its two moments of construal (the fallible ideas that inform it) and construction (in the sense of the material processes, if any that follow from it) (cf Sayer 2000) (30).

This position differentiates the critical realist method from that of empiricism or various forms of post-modernism. We might understand post-modernism to commit the epistemic fallacy: that the world exists only in the way that we know it. There is no real world outside of how we construe it. On the contrary Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2004) argue that the world does exist through the construction of material processes (or performances). However, these are different from the way that we might construe (interpret) or understand the world through our personal narratives. On the other hand we might understand empiricism to commit the ontic fallacy: that there is a real world that we can know (through observation) and this way of viewing the world eclipses all other ways it might be known. In separating the real world from the way we can know it (semiosis) Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer argue knowledge and meaning making is always fallible, open to difference and challenge. Semiotic systems may channel the way we may come to know the real world, the processes that may produce effects which have a tangible effect upon the real world, but these effects will be multiple:

The effects produced by semiosis certainly depend on texts being understood in some fashion but not necessarily just in one, and only one fashion (26).

However, this does not mean that any one knowledge claim is as good as another: "*no account of semiosis can evade the issues of truth, truthfulness and appropriateness*" (p.29) such judgements are essential but never absolute, our ways of knowing the world are only ever as good as our best theories. Yet these can only ever be bound by the spatio-socio-temporal context in which they are rooted, as the world changes so inevitably will our theories to explain it.

As such Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2004) rescue the role of explanation for the qualitative endeavour. 'Explanation' in this sense refers to the best theories we have for understanding the world, including the structures and narratives which prove to be most useful in illuminating the semiotic process for certain social groups. In my case I will seek to provide narratives which can be related to the structures or generative mechanisms by which we might better understand and explain the turbulent experiences for children in school.

Fairclough Jessop and Sayer's (2004) account of semiotic causation enables an understanding of how semiotic processes can produce effects which may act back on structures by creating a space for agency. In order to make this argument, Fairclough Jessop and Sayer distinguish between the 'real' the 'actual' and the 'empirical'. The 'real' refers to *"objects, their structures or natures and their causal powers and liabilities"* (25). In this sense it is possible to construe the 'real' as the latent potential of objects or structures which may provide the framework for meaning-making or knowledge construction. For example, the way the labour market or family is constructed which leads to the conditions for turbulence which then frames how children will respond. The 'actual' refers to *"what happens when these powers and liabilities are activated and produce change"* (25). As such it is possible to understand the 'actual' in terms of the manifestation of meaning making or the performative aspect of the semiotic process. Lastly the 'empirical' is defined as the *"subset of the real and the actual that is experienced by actors."* In this sense we might understand the empirical in terms of the aAa narratives of the individual (Sfard and Prusak, 2005), which as have been discussed, are the result of the individual's processes of the interpretation of the meaning of the performance within the parameters of structures.

Fairclough Jessop and Sayer go on to discuss the relationship between these different components in the semiotic process as well as the place of broader semiotic systems in guiding this:

While empirical experiences can influence behaviour and hence what happens, much of the social and physical worlds can exist regardless of whether researchers, and in some cases other actors, are observing or experiencing them. Though languages and other semiotic

structures/ systems are dependent upon actors for their reproduction, they always already pre-exist any given actor (or subset of actors) and have a relative autonomy from them as real objects, even when not actualised (25).

That is, whilst interpretation is necessary not only in making sense of the communicative act (or performance) and in turn shapes the act, the real world, including language, exists outside the individual's interpretation of it. The collective social and physical world is itself organised on grander narrative schemes that pre-exist the individual, even if the individual has a role in reproducing and challenging them.

3.1.2 Critical Realist Epistemology and Self Valuing Identities

It is possible to apply this account of a critical realistic epistemology to my theory of the quest for self value. This account retains a 'real' world which exists independently of actors' knowledge of it. This real world contains objects or structures which possess latent powers that frame individual understandings and beliefs (in this case of self valuing identities). These 'real world' objects refer to the structural factors of my self valuing identity model. The 'actual' component of semiosis applies to the performance of actors whereby pupils will play out their identities in certain behavioural and interactive patterns. These performative processes of meaning-making thus mediate understanding. The significance of these performances, however, must be filtered through actors' experiential engagement with them, the 'empirical' component of semiotic causation. Therefore, the final part of belief construction requires the aAa narratives of actors which can be understood in terms of the sense actors make of the performances they engage in. Fairclough Jessop and Sayer (2004) observe this is notoriously difficult to study "*not least because it involves more or less inaccessible mental processes*" (27). And yet they also note that their concern is less upon 'how minds make sense of texts', rather it is sufficient to acknowledge that they do so and in so doing produce certain observable and empirical effects:

Meaning and motive are emergent phenomena of semiosis, they need minds with certain capacities to construct social action and interaction (and bodies to enact them) (27-28).

In considering the relationship between 'actual' performances and 'empirical' narratives, this discussion highlights that not only do these narratives 'influence behaviour' but they are also involved in the mental decoding of performance, with an outcome of meaning making (in this sense of self valuing identities). However, Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer observe that semiotic systems exist external to the empirical narratives of actors, this is important in order to contextualise the significance of the self valuing identities found within school.

For example, schools will have semiotic systems relating to their particular cultures and sub-cultures, including those of the pupils. Recent work into the learner identities children present in school has illustrated the pervasive influence of school specific notions of ideal pupil. (Brown, 2009; Hempel-Jorgensen, 2009). According to the differential contexts of the classroom, teachers and pupils could be seen to construct shared understandings of the characteristics which comprised an ideal pupil. This then forged the parameters by which pupils could be seen to compare themselves in relation to such ideals.

Such notions of ideal pupil could be understood to be in part a product of wider pressures of an assessment and performance based culture. However, the school level and even classroom level cultures could be seen to mediate these norms. Nevertheless, such notions could be seen to be forged through pupil consensus at the registration class level. These constructions could be seen to operate tacitly through the semiotic systems of the school. Although the school based identities which turbulent children constructed were individually performed and narrated, these were also reinforced by the performances and narratives of peers. Of course there will be a gap between the individual's experience (or their aAa story) and the interpretation of the researcher (aAb story). It is, therefore, the role of the researcher to triangulate the different narratives of the pupil: the stories of self they tell the researcher, the stories of self they tell other pupils, the stories of self they tell their teacher, in relation to the observable performances in school, and consider how such narratives compare to the wider collective semiotic narrative(s) that are naturalised within the specific context of the school environment. Finally, through considering the

endurance or revision of such stories between the specific contexts of primary and secondary school, an opportunity is presented to evaluate how deeply entrenched, or alternatively transmutable these stories might be.

3.2 Relationship between theory and method

My theory of the quest for self value is an attempt to understand the processes by which the turbulent child will navigate the territories of the new school with the objective of striving to generate a meaningful and enduring sense of self value. As with the processes of knowledge construction that Fairclough, Jessop and Sawyer (2004) refer to, these processes are constrained by the structural factors of the material world. They are theorised through the narratives of individuals and their social relations, and are manifested through the actions of all social actors involved. If my theoretical model of the quest for self value can be seen to be consistent with Fairclough, Jessop and Sawyer's account of the role of semiosis in a critical realist perspective, then it is necessary to discuss how this theoretical model translates into the relationship between theory and method for my study. This relationship can be seen to be exemplified in the following table:

Table 2. The relationship between theory and method

Quest for self value Component	Corresponding data source
Structural factors	<p>Macro level factors: social background:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Informed my Sampling frame in selecting children from low-income backgrounds using FSM indicator & teacher accounts. <p>Meso level factors: turbulence, family break-up, unemployment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Selecting pupils with different types of turbulent school moves. · Family background data: where possible information on family break-up and living situation and parental employment. <p>Micro level factors: classroom layout:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · grouping information, seat-mates, teaching/ support staff information.

Performance	Academic performance: Formal learning outcomes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Documentary evidence; grouping information, key stage assessment results. Embodied performance: Social action and interaction in different schooling contexts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Participant observations in the classroom, the playground, and other informal school spaces.
Narratives	Stories of self <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Semi-structured interviews with pupils, parents and their teachers. · Informal conversation with teachers, pupils and support staff.

As the above table suggests the different components of my theoretical model are suited to the different methods of data collection. As regards the macro and meso structural levels, these data consisted of documentary evidence on FSM and turbulence data, which not only guided the selection of my sample but also gave a background to the home-life of pupils and contextualised the different turbulent experiences of the pupils in the sample. As regards micro level factors, attention was paid to grouping practices in class and pupils' seat mates and teachers.

In relation to the performative aspects of the model of self valuing identities, documentary evidence was gathered on pupils' key stage assessment results and teacher assessments of their attainment. With regards children's daily behaviour, participant observations of pupils were undertaken during the different contexts of the playground and classroom.

Lastly with regards to the 'transitive' objects of the stories which guide our lives, semi-structured interviews were carried out with pupils, and where possible their parents and teachers. Informal conversation also proved to be useful data sources with pupils, their peers, teachers and support staff.

3.3 The pupils, understanding and explanation

This thesis looks at the lives of six children in terms of the model of the quest for self value developed. Understanding of their lives in school is constructed in the ways described above. However, possible explanations for the educational penalty that seemed to exist for many of these children was based on whether there were any possible generative mechanisms that emerged from the study of these six children. By this I mean, were there any factors in common to many or all of these children in their school lives which may lead to tentative explanations which, if generalised at the level of mechanisms, may lead to explanations for the more general quantitative patterns identified in the quantitative literature. The aim is that the understanding enabled by the identification of possible generative mechanisms may help produce tentative explanations for what might happen for other turbulent children.

Having outlined the epistemological approach which underpins this research, I now turn to the methodological question at the heart of this research: that of the children's voices.

3.4 Children's voices and the role of researcher

Benjamin Levin (2000) recognises that historically education has been about *"doing things to other people, supposedly for their own good"* (155). He believes that the educational system can be seen to be characterised by hierarchies of power whereby each level feels best placed to make decisions about the level below. Invariably this has led to students and their decision making rights residing firmly at the bottom of the pile.

Within the last 40 years there has been some attempt at redress. In the 1960's and early 1970's the rise of the 'student power' movement gave cause to the rights of students to have a say in their education. To an extent this was taken on board within universities in that it has become standard practice for students to have a role in governance and in teaching evaluations. However, this view had much less of an impact upon schools, whereby student 'rights' translated into reforms towards self-taught courses, as opposed to penetrating any of the

more structural features of schools. By the mid 70's this emphasis upon student involvement waned, retreating to a more passive view of the student as the 'grateful' recipient of education. However, in the run up to the turn of the century there has been a revival of interest into the involvement of students, although the justification for such rights have shifted from the purpose of political participation and democracy to efficacy of educational reform.

So what are the implications of the move towards student participation for the educational researcher? As a key theorist in the field of children's voices, Michael Fielding (2004) translates the issue of child as subject into child as participant into a set of problematics concerning how we may come to represent the child's voice in research. In tackling this issue, Fielding discusses the problem of speaking about others in shaping persons as research objects. He cites the work of Alcoff (1991/92) in noting the frequent conflation in research between speaking *about* others with speaking *for* them. Whilst no descriptive discourse can ever be value free, and therefore interpretation is an inevitable part of the research process, Alcoff believes that the research must recognise their role in "*the construction of their subject positions*" (Alcoff 1991/92; 9).

Fielding acknowledges some of the potential dangers in this process of construction. He cites the work of Humphries (1994) regarding the covert ways in which the powerful researcher may position the less powerful research subject. The first is that of "*accommodation of challenging and "dangerous" (dangerous that is, to the status quo) ideas to ensure they conform to already established vocabularies and beliefs*" (297). The second is the process of accumulation in terms of constructing the calculus of control. This refers to the generation of information about research subjects which is used for the purposes of surveillance and regulation as opposed to empowerment. The last is that of 'appropriation' whereby the two former strategies in making creative use of research subject accounts so as to present a particular view of the research subject(s) in line with the interests of the researcher.

Central to each of these processes of the construction of subject positions is the role of language in tailoring the discourses of the research subject to fit the

researcher's discourse. This can be done through the substitution of words, phrases, value or beliefs, or in making selective use of subject speak. With regards to the latter example, Fielding notes that the endeavour to let informants 'speak for themselves' is not always a deceptive one, whilst an account may be authentic and genuine, it is nevertheless only ever a partial account therefore rendering the researcher as "an absent presence" (LeCompte, 1993; 12).

Further issues that arise in the endeavour to speak for others, include the extent to which the individual may speak for others from the same social or cultural group. Fielding raises the problematic of the group identity:

Given our membership of many different, sometimes divergent groups, problems may arise about specific group identification and allegiance (300).

This becomes a difficulty in any attempts to link the self-valuing identity to the territory membership group, as well as situating the turbulent child in relation to the cultural group she represents. In relation to the former recognition of this point, I will be sensitive to the transferability of identity markers, in acknowledging that the same behaviour may reaffirm alliance with more than one membership group. In relation to the cultural backgrounds of children, my aim will be to acknowledge the specificities of individual differences within the same cultural experiences, as well as the extent to which experiences may be similar.

Whilst Fielding (2004) reminds us that no one voice is authentic or representative of young people, it can be acknowledged that some voices are marginalised. Arnot and Reay (2007) remind us how it is within the educational system that some voices are systematically privileged above others. They suggest that systems of schooling operate so as to obscure certain voices through structures of recognition but also through the language of teacher and pupil talk. This raises the important question as to how researcher and child may communicate effectively in the absence of a shared language register. Under these circumstances the researcher must strive to find ways to bridge the communication gap. One way of thinking about such bridging is to consider the

work of researchers in the area of learning another language. Ortega and Iberri-Shea (2005) claim that because of the tacit and cultural assumptions embedded within, learning a language other than the mother tongue “*is a complex process that happens through and over time*” (26), and as such best explored through a longitudinal design. Whilst the language registers of researcher and participants in this study may share a national basis, there can be no substitution for time spent in and amongst participants in order to generate a nuanced understanding and engagement with marginalised voices.

Further support for the longitudinal frame in research with children can be found in Ortega and Iberri-Shea, who although making specific reference to language learning, acknowledge that a key factor in considering the length of a longitudinal study involves a consideration of the key events and turning points in the social or institutional context under investigation. This is because such events may throw a person or institution’s life into sharp relief bringing into the foreground previously taken for granted assumptions. In their study of comprehension based learning Lightbown et al (2002) stated that the length of their observations was determined so as to include the transition from elementary to secondary schooling, as such a turning point can be seen to be a formative event in children’s educational experience. Along the same lines, this study aims to follow up participants having moved from primary into secondary schooling which will enable a more complete picture of children’s voices to emerge. The longitudinal design also positions the researcher to explore the changing nature of schooling experiences as well as to generate understanding of the “*antecedent and consequent relations*” (Ortega and Iberri-Shea, 2005; 41) of such change in this case being represented in pupil to pupil and pupil-teacher interactions.

3.4.1 The reliability of the child’s voice

The reliability of the child’s voice in interview accounts is the central focus of a review by Bruck and Ceci (1999) into psychological and social research concerning the suggestibility of children’s memory. Bruck and Ceci observe that from the 1980’s onwards an increased awareness of the pervasiveness of child

sexual abuse has led to changes in the legal system whereby children became 'allowed' to provide uncorroborated testimony in cases concerning sexual abuse; a crime that often does not involve an eyewitness other than the perpetrator and the victim. This also provoked the elimination of the competency requirement for child witnesses. This has caused the question of whether children's reports are reliable, to have greater significance in recent years. Bruck and Ceci discuss how as a result of such changes in legal proceedings concerning children in cases of sexual abuse, there arose in court a number of misleading accounts from children which due to the common belief that children don't lie, often turned into convictions. Subsequently, in the 1990's interest arose in the social sciences as to the accuracy of children's memories and the potential for suggestion. The major conclusion that has been drawn from studies into children's responses to misleading questions regarding salient events is:

Although there may be age differences in suggestibility for non-central features of an event, there are no age differences when children are asked misleading questions about central salient events; in fact children are mainly accurate when asked about such details (421).

However, for the purposes of my study, the 'salient' features of children's accounts will refer to the feelings and emotions associated with past experiences as well as those in the present. As regards the reliability of such accounts, it could be argued that emotions and reflections as enduring properties of consciousness can be understood to be 'real' so long as they 'feel' real to the participant. In terms of the aAa narratives of children, questions of truth and validity refer not to a factual or material basis, but rather the conceptual frame of the child. The task of the researcher is therefore to create a safe and trusting space whereby children will feel assured they are not judged according to reliability but rather feel confident to speak their mind. In relation to relevant descriptive and factual elements of their account, these may be checked through triangulation with observations and school records. Furthermore, the longitudinal nature of the study enabled consideration of whether subsequent events had indeed changed children's views of earlier experiences of turbulence.

As such it may be surmised that this discussion reflects less upon the innate capacity of a child to be truthful and more upon the interviewer to provide the space for understanding of their past in order for children to be so:

In a very real sense, the reliability of young children's reports has more to do with the skills of the interviewer than to any natural limitations on their memory (Bruck and Ceci, 1999; 436).

If unpacking the problems involved with uncovering and representing the voices of others can be seen to be the primary methodological concern in outlining what not to do, what follows provides an account of how to approach the issue at hand. The following section aims to situate what is understood methodologically with regards researching children's identity in the context of these turbulent children.

3.5 Locating self valuing narratives

The previous chapter outlined what was meant by the concept of identity in terms of its application for this study. In this chapter it is necessary to say a bit more about how to locate the self valuing narratives I will be exploring. This is important in order to separate the narrative element of the self valuing question from the performative. Sfard and Prusak (2003) explain the primary technique for locating 'identity speak' in the discourse of the research participant as when *"talk about action is replaced with talk about states"* (16). That is when *doing* words are transposed with *being* or *having* words. There is significance in this transaction which Sfard and Prusak attribute to the act of reifying behaviour. Events and actions are by nature temporal and transient, while 'being' and 'having' states are in contrast more enduring and as such enable the individual to reclaim such actions for themselves. An example can be given in the child who describes herself in relation to the game of football in which she has scored the winning goal:

'I scored the winning goal in the football game.'

This statement describes an event and an action which albeit very significant has since passed and as such removes the person from the action in terms of a present state of being. Now consider the following statement:

'I am a good goal scorer in football'.

This statement can be understood as an act of time crystallisation. The child is collapsing the past into the present in attempt to reclaim an action which is passed and done with in order to tell a story of self which is more lasting and therefore relatively more stable and significant. In referring to a state of 'being' or 'having' the individual becomes synonymous with the action, but not in the singular sense; embedded within a current state of being is the sense of repetition, yes of the past but also the hope, or belief of repetition in the future. Through taking ownership of the performance of goal scoring the child is theorising the significance of her action in relation to an enduring personal narrative incorporating the action into a quest towards self value. Such 'being' and 'having' statements can be understood as an expression of self endorsement. If the footballer is unconvinced about her goal scoring skills, the act of story-telling to others may act as to affirm her belief in her goal scoring identity, as well of course as others.

The question for the researcher is what does this statement say about the child's aAa self valuing identity narrative? Not being privy to such internal dialogues concerning children's aAa narratives, the researcher can only ever be the listener to the aAc self valuing identity narratives (the stories of self told to the researcher). However, whilst the researcher's conceptions of their participant's aAa narrative can only ever be an abstraction it may be possible to get a bit closer to them. I argue that this may be enabled through the concept of reflective dialogue defined by Moyles, Adams and Musgrove. (2002):

The Reflective Dialogue (RD) technique is based on the belief that guided, supported reflection deepens pedagogical awareness (12).

Moyles and her colleagues believed the concept of reflective dialogue to be a useful tool between research and practitioner in order to encourage practitioner

reflexivity upon their practice. The technique involved providing research participants with video taped extracts of their practice and asking them to reflect upon the values and beliefs underpinning their actions. I wish to adapt this technique for the purposes of this study. In providing the turbulent child with oral vignettes of their actions taken from observations within schooling territories, he or she can be prompted to reflect upon the meaning of their actions in light of the 'having' or 'being' identity making statements they make. In this way the child's feelings can be probed in relation to the aAc narratives that they claim. For example, in the case of the goal scoring footballer, the researcher may probe, 'during that football game I noticed that when you scored, two of your team players didn't cheer, I wondered why that was and how you felt about it?' To which the footballer child could respond 'They didn't believe it was a goal, they don't think I'm very good, so I have to try really hard in the games when I play with them'. Such reflection upon observation creates the space for greater reflexivity and in this instance would have revealed some anxiety on the child's part in relation to her goal scoring identity. In this way such reflexive dialogue between child and researcher regarding actual behaviours and actions may help probe deeper into the aAc narratives the turbulent child describes and in this way get closer to the aAa narratives of the child.

3.6 Defining the sample

3.6.1 Phase one

It was important to take a longitudinal perspective of the effects of turbulence upon children's schooling experiences. This was in order to consider whether such effects (if any) were enduring over a child's school career, including transition to secondary school (see the discussion above). This was a longitudinal study which sought to follow through a sample of students from Year 5 and 6 in primary school and then two years later at Secondary school. This study was first made possible by connections with schools formed as part of the ESRC funded Hampshire research with schools (HARPS) project; a Hampshire wide mixed methods study into the compositional effects upon children's progress during their primary education. From 50 schools involved in

the study, three were selected as experiencing significant turbulence. The nature of the turbulent groups differed in that one school: Ash experienced high turbulence on account of 40% of the intake being drawn from a nearby RAF base. The two other schools; Ivy and Hollybush, experienced high turbulence due to the demographics of the local town in which they were situated. These schools' catchments areas included a large Traveller site as well as a significant proportion of social housing. In the original research design, so as to consider the greatest contrast between different types of turbulence, children from Ash school were selected in being children of officer class families, whilst children from Ivy and Hollybush were selected in coming from low income backgrounds. The socioeconomic background of children from low income backgrounds was difficult to determine in the absence of information on free school meals eligibility, as teachers acknowledged that frequently eligible families did not claim. As such a range of other factors were considered in selecting children which included information available on, parental occupation, housing, and teacher judgement. In total 17 pupils were identified as having experienced turbulent career trajectories, five of these children were from officer class RAF families at Ash, and 12 children were identified as from low income turbulent backgrounds at Hollybush and Ivy school.

3.6.2 Phase two

The second phase of the study involved following up the turbulent children from the first phase who had now transferred to secondary school. The purpose in following up students during their secondary education was in order to see how the students were developing in the light of a further change in their school careers, albeit one which may be different from their experience of moving between primary schools. The particular questions that guided this part of the study were: Do the students show the same patterns of alienation or integration that were present in primary school? Has their outlook on school changed? Given that they are two years older how did they compare their experience of moving between primary schools with that of moving to secondary school? What were the similarities and differences? In particular did they have friends that enabled them to make an easier transition to secondary school than when

they changed primary school? and if so in what ways did children utilise their friendship networks to enable transition, inclusion and participation in school?

3.6.3 Difficulty in tracking pupils

Of the original sample, I was able to track six of the turbulent pupils from low-income backgrounds. Three of these children had changed schools once outside of the normal joining and leaving times, and three children had changed schools more than once. All six of these pupils went on to attend the Maple secondary school in Thornton. Of course, not all of the original sample of pupils went on to attend the Maple. One of the most challenging tasks in conducting longitudinal research with children from turbulent educational trajectories is the tracking of children through their continued educational career. Of the original sample of 17, ten had experienced another turbulent move of schools in the superseding two years. Over half of these had been out of the country. Whilst it was possible to follow up a couple of these children into different schools, for others it was impossible. For example, in the case of one pupil from Hollybush primary school. Keeley lived with her mother following family break up, Keeley 'hated' primary school and was frequently absent, she hated all lessons and the only skill she professed to was a love of sewing, something her mother had taught her to do in mending and tailoring old clothing when they could not afford to buy new clothes. Shortly after my research in Hollybush, Keeley dropped out of mainstream schooling to be home-schooled. She continued to be home schooled for over one year before joining the feeder secondary school the Maple. Keeley attended the Maple for 7 months before leaving for another school in the area. She remained at Oldwater school for under a year before leaving as part of a 'managed move' (in which the school was complicit) to a community college. Keeley only lasted three days at the college before dropping out.

Another case could be seen with respect to Mark. When I first met Mark at primary school he didn't appear to mix very much with other children and was clearly isolated in lessons. He was frequently disengaged from the learning activity and could be seen to often gaze out the window, mentally absent from

class. When asked about his tendency to 'zone out' of lessons, we had the following discussion:

- CB:** I noticed in class that often when the teacher's talking you're not really listening.
- Mark:** Ummm, yeah.
- CB:** Why is that then?
- Mark:** I sometimes... I just look out the window.
- CB:** Are you thinking or what are you doing?
- Mark:** Thinking a bit.
- CB:** What are you thinking about?
- Mark:** It's just my past, the past.
- CB:** Like what?
- Mark:** Uh, it's just incid-... incidents have happened in the past... I think about that a lot.
- CB:** Do you want to talk about that at all?
- Mark:** Er, okay... It's just my mum and dad have got divorced and... they used to fight a lot.
- CB:** And was that upsetting?
- Mark:** Yeah And I've... I also found out that my da-, dad's not paying a lot for me... And he has all the money in the world.
- CB:** How does that feel?
- Mark:** Quite sad.

Mark could be seen to hold the weight of his parents divorce on his shoulders and money worries for his mother were clearly a burden for him, not least for the symbolic value represented in his father's contribution. Upon moving up to secondary school Mark moved back to live with his father and step mother in a major northern city, as his mother was 'not coping' with him, according to the head of pastoral care at his former secondary school. Having tracked down Mark at his new school, I set about negotiating access to visit him there. This had just been endorsed by the senior management team when I was informed that 'it was not working out' with his father and had therefore moved down to live with his grandparents in the south.

Of the original sample of turbulent children this table represents their continued trajectories:

Table 3. Turbulence trajectories of phase one cohort

Child	Socio Economic status	No. of prior moves	Further turbulence?	Able to track
Liza	Low income	5	No	Yes
Codie	Low income	2	No	Yes
Robin	Low income	1	No	Yes
Mark	Low income	2	Yes, 2 more school changes in key stage 1 & 2	No
Mikey	Low income	1	Emigrated	No
Keeley	Low income	1	Yes, 4 more changes of school in keys stage 1 & 2, dropped out to be home schooled	No
Romain	Low income	1	Yes, moved to northern city with mother	No
Megan	Low income traveller	Approx 4	No	Yes
Chloe	Low income traveller	Approx 5	Yes but information unavailable	No
Bobby	Low income traveller	Approx 4	Yes but information unavailable	No
Jack	Low income traveller	Approx 4	Yes but information unavailable	No
Clive	Low income	1	No	Yes
Helen	Low income	1	No	Yes
Mia	Low income traveller	Approx 4	No	No
Leon	RAF officer family	2	Yes, Emigrated	No
Peter	RAF officer family	2	Moved into private education	No

Alec	RAF officer family	2	No	Yes
Sean	RAF officer family	2	Yes, one move into private education	No

Trajectories such as these reveal the difficulty in researching the schooling lives of children who are turbulent. They also underline the extent to which such voices are absent from research with children and the importance of striving to uncover the experiences of children that move schools.

3.7 School Profiles

3.7.1 Ivy school

Ivy was an average sized junior school and according to the most recent Ofsted inspection prior to my research at the school, there were 232 children on roll. This included few children of a minority ethnic background and free school meals was about average for the county at 7.8%. However the school had above average SEN (26%) on account of an excellent reputation for catering for children with additional learning needs. The school had a primarily low SES composition of children. It drew 40% of children out of catchment but these tended to be from housing associations. However, they did have a small number of children from higher SES backgrounds. The school also experienced above average turbulence with over 14% of the school population changing in one year. The school also attracted Traveller children and many of these children had gaps in their education. The school therefore put a lot into social and behavioural support including a full time non class based behavioural support worker. The school operated a particularly effective 'buddying' scheme as way of offering vertical peer support structures for new turbulent pupils.

3.7.2 Hollybush school

At the time I was researching in Hollybush school it was a junior school with 169 pupils on roll. The school was going through a rather difficult phase for a number of reasons. In experiencing a significant drop in roles, the school had changed from single year entry to mixed year classes to accommodate the loss of one teaching class. A further challenge facing the school was due to change in leadership where the previous head had left and the current acting head was covering whilst a permanent head could be appointed. She was quite stretched because she was also the head teacher for the feeder infant school. The acting head told me there had been problems with the previous head falling out with a number of parents, again this had a knock on effect and compounded the demographic change of the area creating falling rolls caused by higher house prices, which meant that less young families were coming into the town. At time of study turbulence was quite high in the school, between 12-16% over the preceding few years. The acting head told me this was due to children in social housing, a number of traveller children, or with regards to the school's reputation in relation to the previous head. Since the time of study, the school went into special measures and following this amalgamated with the feeder infant school to become a primary school, with currently 221 children on roll. The most recent Ofsted reports (2008) found the school to be satisfactory on most counts, whilst scoring 'good' in relation to pastoral areas such as personal development and well being.

3.7.3 Secondary School profile: The Maple

Whilst attending different primary schools in the area, all case study pupils moved up to The Maple school, a large secondary school for children aged 11-16. At the time of most recent inspection there were approximately 1000 children on roll, with a 215 admissions intake at year seven. The school drew from five local primary schools and had specialist science status. The attainment of pupils upon entry was broadly in line with other maintained mainstream secondary schools, although the number of children with special educational needs was below the national average. The school served a large catchment area with lower than average levels of deprivation (Ofsted report 2007). Despite the specialist provision, the latest Ofsted report rated the college

an overall of satisfactory for effectiveness and yet good for pastoral care and provision.

3.8 The benefit of studying school transition

The process of following up my original sample from phase one, in the first instance required that primary school records were consulted with reference to the secondary schools which children had left for. Where this information was available, secondary schools were approached through telephone, letter and email to negotiate access. Careful thought was given as to the best time to approach the children so as to follow up upon their experiences of transition in to secondary school. Having studied the importance of social interactions and peer relationships for the child upon school transition Demetriou et al's (2000) findings were very helpful in informing the decision to follow up at this time, concluding that: *"Early adolescence is a period when autonomy, self-determination, and social interaction are important to young people."* (426). As such it was more likely that pupils would be reflective of their educational trajectories and social relationships, which was conducive to the aims of this study.

Drawing upon interviews with adolescents and in consultation with previous Ofsted reports on their progress, Demetriou et al described dips which were found in children's performance and motivation in the period following the transition and settling in period, emerging at the end of year seven and progressing into year eight. The authors attributed this to the 'novelty wearing off' the initial excitement of new spaces, opportunities and facilities of secondary school. Demetriou et al. reasoned that the end of year seven and year eight lacked the sense of ownership children may feel during the year of their GCSE options choices, nor the *"real world" urgency of year 10 and 11*" (429). As such the authors concluded that in student's eyes this middle period lacks *"a clear and compelling identity"* in relation to school. These findings therefore suggested the end of year seven and year eight to be a pertinent time to explore children's experiences of school, as they would be over the initial excitement of joining secondary school, but not yet faced with the immediate

urgency of pressure to perform in exams. This might explain why Demetriou et al found this age to be a time of reflection for young people upon; identity, friendship and the purposes of schooling for them.

3.9 Separating the effects of turbulence from those of poverty

In exploring the schooling trajectories of my six case study pupils and considering the effects of turbulence upon children's subsequent schooling experiences, it was necessary to include within my research design a point of comparison through which the effects of turbulence could be contextualised against the penalty associated with children's low income backgrounds (Ridge, 2002; Horvat, Weininger and Lareau, 2003). I therefore wanted to consider the role and nature of in-school social networks and the potential for social capital for the friends of my case study pupils. As such a group of nine friends were interviewed from similar low income backgrounds. Six of these pupils had not experienced turbulence themselves, and three had. The purpose of exploring these children's perspectives was to compare the ways in which these children reflected upon their social networks and their importance within school, to consider the similarities and differences between non-turbulent and turbulent pupils. With such a small sample the aim was not to draw representative associations between the turbulent pupils and their friends but rather to look for themes or indications that could shed further light upon the ways in which turbulence effects children's inclusion and well-being in school.

3.10 The organisation of data chapters

The following seven chapters draw together my data throughout the four and a half years of my study. This is organised into six narratives, one for each of the case study pupils which presents the educational trajectories of each child, reflecting upon their experiences of turbulence and the unfolding experiences of primary and secondary school following turbulence. Each case study can be read as representing children's 'quest for self value'. The structural factors framing the turbulence and children's home backgrounds are considered, as are the within school micro-structure of children's assignment to classes and

organisation of seating. Children's academic performances are discussed, as well as their embodied performances; interactions with peers and school staff in both the formal and informal territories of school. Furthermore, high precedence is given to the narratives of children: their reflections upon their schooling experiences, as well as the narratives of teachers and school staff and parents.

These stories develop along a thematic and partly chronological structure which can be divided into two parts. The first part of the story draws upon data collected during the first research phase when the pupil was attending primary school. This starts with a section on the pupil's background and experience of changing schools, and moves on to consider children's experiences of schooling prior to the most recent turbulent move. The following sections in part one are organised under three headings: out-of-school interests, informal aspects of school and formal aspects of school. The second part of the story draws upon data collected in the second research phase three years later, by which time the pupil has experienced transition to secondary school. This account reflects upon the pupil's experiences of school transition following end of key stage, which is compared with previous turbulent experiences of changing schools. Following this, the narrative attends to the same sub-sections as part one; out of school interests, informal aspects of schooling and formal aspects of schooling. Each case study concludes with a summary section on the effects of turbulence for that child.

Following these six case studies, there is a chapter discussing the findings from the comparator group interview, and the themes raised in terms of the role and nature of friendship is considered from the perspective of the case study pupils' friends.

4. Data Analyses: Clive Case Study

4.1 Background

4.1.1 Clive profile

I met Clive when he was in year 5 at Ivy school. He lived at home with his mother and brother in Thornton and had moved from a large village in the same county just over a year previously. Clive did not claim free school meals although his teachers suspected he was eligible as he lived in a single parent household. Clive brought sandwiches for lunch.

4.1.2 School background prior to moving

Prior to moving to Ivy school Clive attended Wishingwell primary in Waterbrook, a small town situated in a semi rural area with a higher socio-economic profile than his next school, Ivy which was about 20 miles away. Data from previous Ofsted reports (2001) and Ward data (2005) indicate that Wishingwell had low proportion of pupils eligible for FSM (approx 4%) and attracted only 10% of it's intake from housing association or council housing. The school was small with 140 children on roll, above average prior attainment, very little ethnic diversity and SEN just below average at 18%. Turbulence was high with 24% of the school population changing before the normal leaving age. The school appeared to have close links with parents with 96 % of parents agreeing that "the school works closely with parents" (64% response rate).

Clive has warm memories of the school and appeared to be happy there. Upon comparison with his new school Ivy he observed that:

It wasn't as strict as this one though.

This comment related to Clive's recollections of the sanctions system whereby as punishment:

You get sent down to the erm head teacher.

However this system wasn't a sufficient deterrent for Clive, as he recalled visiting the head teacher, in speculating that:

I was naughtier there than here.

It is questionable as to whether his misbehaviour constituted significant classroom disruption or rather in this context lower level mischievousness as Clive recounted positive experiences of his interactions with teachers:

The teachers were nice. Miss... my teacher was called Miss Ketley and she was nice.

Generally Clive remembered feeling very happy at the school. He felt secure in friendships and liked the one year entry:

But you [were] only 1 class of each year so that was better for me cos I used to never worry about splitting up with my friends or not.

This suggests that Clive felt secure in the stability of his relationship with his class teacher and his friendships with children in the school and free from worry or concern over whether he would maintain them. When asked how he felt about the prospect of moving Clive remembers feeling "really sad".

4.1.3 Reasons for moving

Although Clive's parents had spilt up when he was two, his parents had remained in the same small town Waterbrook. However, when Clive was in year 4, his mother decided to move to Thornton. The reason Clive gave for this decision was:

We just had to come here to sell our flat so we can see our family more.

Family in this context referred to his mother's wider family who were situated in Thornton. Clive however had never lived in Thornton. Therefore the move represented a separation from his father and his friends which might explain the

sadness he experienced. Clive saw his father every other weekend and through this contact kept loosely in touch with his old best friends:

I leave town and go round my Dad's house cos my Dad lives in Waterbrook and they live in Waterbrook so when I go like to the shop I see them. Yeah and at a school fair cos I'm still allowed to go to my school fair. I see them there and the next day they ask me if I can sleep round their house and I say okay and then I just keep talking to them.

However these contacts had become a lot looser since the move; Clive did not communicate by phone and was not allowed to have his friends over to stay the night.

I never have, I never have sleepover round my Dad's.

It is therefore questionable as to how secure Clive has since felt in these relationships.

4.2 Starting at Ivy School

4.2.1 Clive's first day at Ivy school

The two descriptors Clive used to characterise his feelings about his first day at Ivy school were 'shocked' and 'worried'. The shock was exacerbated by the two weeks of school he had missed to pack up, move and settle into the new area such had felt unprepared for starting school:

I forgot, then my Mum reminded me.

This was a long time to be absent from school which suggested that the move may have been significant and difficult for his mother in taking so long to register him in a new school. However, the anxiety over the first day was soon eased because Clive was able to make friends due to the school's effective buddying system, whereby two children were selected to look after a new child on the first day.

At the start of the school people were looking after me. Two people were Marcus and Romain.

These children became Clive's best friends and his immediate impression from this introduction to the school was that:

They're more friendly.

However, it was interesting that he didn't seem to extend this view to his relationships with teachers. Despite thinking that most teachers were 'cool', when asked how the teachers got on with him he responded "I don't know" suggesting a lacking of confidence about the regard in which he was held by teachers in the school. This might be explained later under section 4: formal aspects of school: classroom experience.

4.4 Out of school Interests

4.4.1 Football as a social activity

Out of school Clive had joined a local football team called Cleaver in which he met several pupils from the nearby local primary school Brierley (a school with a stronger attainment driven ethos towards core subjects and which does better in the league tables). This local team used the sporting resources of Brierley primary school and therefore Clive was able to make friends in his new town who were near to his home despite attending a different school. This had been especially important to Clive as his school friends lived some distance away:

Romain lives far away. And erm I have, I can't live like, because Marcus lives far away but.. erm I know there's other people, I know people from Brierley School.

Attending the football club had been important to Clive as it was a way to assimilate into the local community. Sharing an activity with local friends enabled him to feel more attached to the local area not only through the activity itself but through the social links generated out of school:

Sometime like, sometimes I meet them on the way. I know where some of them live... So I can knock on them when I'm bored... And I see them when I walk into a shop and that.

In this way it is possible to understand the performance of football as a practice which has been successful to Clive in generating a bridging form of social capital which has enabled him to forge links with others in his local community. Relationships established in the territory of the football club have proved successful in generating links into school giving him an advantage in the social territories of his new school as well as other informal territories of the local community.

4.4.2 Home bound activities

It was interesting that the other activities Clive cited as interests: computers and cooking were both home bound, something which Clive enjoyed on his own as opposed to with peers. When asked what he would like to do when he leaves school Clive responded:

Erm I wanna be a... a erm... I wanna be a... erm... I wanna like work in computers and... Yeah and I like cooking and stuff.

It may be significant that activities both involved a degree of autonomy as opposed to being team based activities which suggested a certain self imposed isolation from his peers. This is something that I will be elaborating on later in reference to Clive's experiences at secondary school.

4.5 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

4.5.1 Bridging social activities

Clive was clearly quite popular amongst children in the year group, his friends included:

Err Marcus.. Romain... Laura, Jade, Tristan, Joss... and Mark and Mark and again, Mark again... and all of err and Saul and Zach and Jake... Emma and Elaura and Molly and Katy.

Whilst many of these friendships were quite loose, his closest friends remained Marcus and Romain. Clearly Clive valued the common interest he shared with his friends;

They're like me cos they all like football.. and fishing.

It was through the shared practice of such activities that Clive understood 'like' individuals to be defined as a group. Football was one of the primary activities which were practiced in the playground and as Clive noted, particular friends were excluded from this activity:

Emma we don't normally sort of hang around with Emma cos she doesn't like football and we do.

As an activity, football was a valued social currency in Wishing-well school because it enabled Clive to play with his friends:

It was better cos erm... cos my friends, every one like, you can go... play with a shed and you had to go in there and get a ball out... like they had erm black sacks for the balls. So we used to get them out.

Through understanding the rules and no doubt gaining the skills honed by practice in his last school and through his out of school club, Clive had generated friendships both in and out of school. However it is notable that the activity of football was not the only aspect defining Clive's social group identity in Ivy.

4.5.2 Playful/fun loving social-group identity

As well as sharing activity with his new friends, Clive revealed that it was important for the group to share a similar outlook and dispositions:

Romain's happy, looks happy. Err Jade's happy, Laura's happy, Emma's happy erm... Jake's funny... Yer Romain's really lively. Marcus's lively they're all my friends are literally lively.

This reflected Clive's character at Ivy school which was very lively, funny and jokey in the playground, although in class he could behave quite differently, as will be discussed in the next section. This humorous joker front can be understood as a collective social group identity which reinforces one's membership as part of the group (Sheriff, 1999).

In the playground this peer group identity manifested as a very exuberant group of children with an abundance of energy to run about and test the playground rules where possible. On one occasion Clive and his friends were told off by the dinner-lady for going on the grass when they were not allowed to. Another aspect of playground behaviour involved teasing and winding each other up, not in a cruel way but in a playful manner. For example when I handed out a permission letter to Clive regarding his involvement, his friends responded by taunting Clive that he was a 'teachers pet'. In Clive's presence Romain told me that 'Clive fancies you miss' and Marcus wrote some 'love letters' which were delivered to me by various girls in the group. As Clive was present throughout it was clear that he was not distressed by this teasing but took it on board good naturedly and appeared to enjoy the attention of the group.

4.6 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

4.6.1 *Silly attention seeker / clever mathematician dualism*

Whilst the aspects of the social group described above such as being lively and happy seemed to cause little tension in the playground apart from the odd cross comment from a dinner-lady, greater tensions could be observed in the classroom context. This is because the playful/ fun-loving playground characteristics seemed to translate into off-task behaviour and silliness in lessons. An example of this silliness can be seen in the class observation below, taken from a silent reading session which is a registration class based activity:

The children have silent reading and Miss Knight tells them to get on with it. They all do and there is a near silent noise level. Clive takes a while to settle and wanders around a bit on the pretence of getting a book. Whilst others are reading he appears to be colouring something in. Miss Knight tells him to sit down a couple of times and at one point he comes over to the front desk to sharpen his pencil or something similar. It doesn't seem entirely necessary and I notice he has no shoes on. I wonder if it's a stunt to show off to Marcus and Saul.

The reason that the peer support and endorsement may be so important for Clive in lessons may be that he felt unable to be involved in learning. Clive professed to finding lessons 'hard' and didn't enjoy them. It was clear that attention was important to Clive who liked to be at the centre of it, both in and out of the classroom, and yet he felt that when he sought the teacher's attention for a valid reason, he was overlooked;

Cos every time I put my hand up to ask for help, nobody answers me.

There was an exception to this lack of interest and confidence. Numeracy was the only lesson which Clive claimed to enjoy. When asked what made him like a lesson he responded:

Something what I'm good at.

For this reason maths could be seen to represent an important subject for Clive as it was really the only lesson he felt good at (and he was) at Ivy school. Clive was originally in the top set maths but at the time of observation had been recently demoted to the bottom set. Clive's class teacher Miss Knight explained to me during an informal conversation that this was due to his behaviour in class 'dragging down' the rest of the top group. Whilst she recognised he had the ability to be in the top group, his classroom behaviour was not considered to be conducive to the pace and performance of the top set. However, Clive himself was unsure whether the down setting was attributable to his test performance or his behaviour:

Don't know why I got lowered err cos... I was naughty or erm got lowered in my test cos I got something like two in my test.

This move down to the bottom set has clearly had an unsettling effect on Clive and dented his confidence in his mathematical ability. This manifested in an anxiety about tests which seemed to have thrown him off balance:

I'm not very good at Maths tests... Yer I get, I get bad at tests but then afterwards when I go through it, I know the answers.

Clive was clearly upset to be put in the lower set:

Didn't want to move... Yeah, cos all my friends are in there [top group].

This wasn't necessarily accurate according to the friendships Clive listed in interview, where at least three of his good friends were also in the lower maths group. But the comment reveals that Clive had the aspiration to identify with friends in the top group, perhaps because they were seen as talented: an aspiration which was now problematic for Clive. As Clive felt he was ignored when he put his hand up, he called out answers which he seemed to feel proved himself to others in the class:

Some people think I'm like... dumb and that so I just call it out the answer and then it's right. Then they think I'm not dumb.

This behaviour can be illustrated in the following class observation of a maths lesson taught by a supply teacher:

Inside the class Clive misses the answer to a question and calls out "is it 0.5?" Mrs Rose replies "if you are not going to listen Clive then I'll mark it wrong". This doesn't require a response but Clive does anyway "I'll listen then." Mrs Rose makes no further response to this comment. She moves on to question two and asks a child to answer (one of the ones with their hands up). As the child explains the answer Clive chips in and Mrs Rose politely asks him not to call out. He is fidgety and punches his chair chipping in "I got that one right". He continues to call out during the activity and Mrs

Rose ignores his comments. She continues going through the questions and Clive continues to call out answers exclaiming “this is easy”. He is good at maths and gets all the answers correct. A couple of other children are also keen to answer but they put their hands up and get chosen to answer.

This kind of behaviour wasn’t acceptable to the teachers at Ivy school and therefore contributed to Clive being held back from promotion to a higher maths group. He could therefore be seen to be stuck in a circular pattern whereby all efforts to maintain his identity as a good mathematician continued to prevent him from being formally recognised as good at maths.

4.6.2 *Over-coming classroom tensions*

As can be seen from the discussion above, Clive’s classroom behaviour of disrupting, calling out, playing the fool and demanding attention served the dual function of affirming his social group identity of being playful and funny, however it translated as naughty disruptive behaviour in the classroom context. However, it appeared that Clive was well aware of this quandary and it caused conflicting loyalties, which at times resulted in him feeling torn between catering to his mathematician identity in striving to conform to behaviour suited to the top group, and in maintaining the support of his friends who would rather be entertained by him:

Clive: I have to turn round cos he... erm I want him to be my friend and then... and then I don’t, if I don’t turn round.. he, he won’t like me that much. So then I turn around and like we be silly and then I laugh like and I get told off.

CB: you’re saying that you’re worried that if you don’t turn round, then he won’t be your friend?

Clive: He would be my friend but he wouldn’t hang around with me.

CB: So you are worried about them not hanging round with you?

Clive: I don’t mind if they don’t, like sometimes Emma doesn’t like me and I’m alright with that... But it like... just don’t... I like people to keep me company.

Clive was clearly anxious that if he didn’t conform to behaviour which complied with the mischievous norm such as taking part in distracting behaviour in class

he would lose his social group position. This statement fits with Clive's earlier comments on anxiety about splitting up with his friends.

This conflict between behaving and conforming (so endorsing his 'talented mathematician' identity) and misbehaving and messing around (thus endorsing his 'silly lively' social group identity) caused some contradictory behaviour. Whereas in the example given above Clive felt compelled to misbehave, on another occasion Clive acted responsibly so as to avoid misbehaviour by striving to differentiate himself from his friends within the classroom. However, it seemed that these efforts were not always recognised by teachers, such as can be seen in Clive's discussion about having been sanctioned with a 'cross' on account of his friend's intention to distract him. This sanction was displayed on the white board in view of pupils and teachers throughout the day. Two crosses lead to a lunchtime detention and three result in a letter home and assignment of a one week behavioural record.

He [Marcus] like... erm.. he like in class he just kinda... he made me get a cross yesterday... Cos he came and sat next to me and then I put... I knew I were gonna be silly with him so I pushed him out the way and then I got a cross.

Another example of the conflict between Clive's self valuing identity as 'clever mathematician' and his self valuing identity as the leader of a disaffected social group, concerned his seating position in maths. Clive had self-elected to be sat on his own away from other children at the back of the classroom. He explained this decision to me as:

I just like working on my own. I like, I like to work in group, people in groups if we're really like.. erm not naughty cos sometimes my friends ask me to mess about and I say "okay then" and I get like a cross, or 2 crosses. Erm.. like cos every time I sit at the front I always turn, turn... err look back to see my friends and if I kind of like sit at the back I can't... I just have to keep my eye forward cos I can't look back, there would be a wall.

However, unfortunately, even this extreme course of action did not always create the desired behaviour which Clive aimed for in lessons, as can be seen in the example below:

Mark and Clive exchange a few comments with each other although from Clive's seating position they are a couple of meters apart. Hannah comes over to Clive's corner to get a couple of pencils from the drawers there. Clive starts to talk to her but she ignores him. Clive calls out the answer again to a question and this time Miss Knight accepts it and asks him how he worked it out, he tries to explain and she praises him. Clive and Mark both starts messing around making noises and Mrs Knight addresses Mark (who is nearer her) "Mark if you do that once more you will be sent out." He responds to her "that's not fair, he was doing it as well" (gesturing to Clive).

In this way we can understand Clive's social group as a form of bonding social identity (Putnam,1990). This is because there was a narrow definition of what constituted group membership which prescribed specific ways of being (funny/silly/lively) and doing (football/messing around). However, it seemed that this social group identity could not bridge into the top maths class. Clive clearly valued his identity as talented mathematician and had a peer group of able friends within the top maths group but this identity did not gel with the 'silly/lively' identity as it manifested in the lower set classroom nor with his peer group in registration class lessons. Despite his best intentions the pull of the peer group inevitably took precedence over the 'talented mathematician' identity in generating a silly/lively peer group identity behaviour on a day to day level. This will be expanded on in the discussion at the end of the case study

4.7 Transition to secondary

4.7.1 Clive's academic performance at the Maple

I followed up Clive three years later when he was in his third term in year eight at the Maple. At this time Clive was currently placed in the middle sets for English, maths, and science. His prior attainment in terms of key stage two SATs results were in line with the national target of level four for each of these subjects, which is the minimum grade requirement children are expected to achieve (<http://sandbox.opsi.gov.uk/paper/cm/7280/annex/d>). Pupils were also assessed every year at the Maple according to their attainment and attitude towards the subject. Clive's most recent assessments are provided below. Both

in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest. Attainment grades are measured by key stage tests and teacher assessment in English, maths and science and purely teacher assessment in all other subjects.

Table 4. Clive's Academic Performances

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	4B	2*
Maths	5A	3*
Science	5B	3*
IT	4C	2*
Drama	4C	2*
Art	4B	2*
DT	4B	3*
French	3B	2*
Geography	4C	3*
History	4C	4*
Music	3A	1*

By the end of year nine pupils are expected to achieve a solid grade 5 (5A) as the minimum attainment target (<http://sandbox.opsi.gov.uk/paper/cm/7280/annex/d>). At the end of the second term in year eight (when these assessments were taken), to be on line for this target pupils should be attaining around a level 5B or 5C. These results suggest that Clive was attaining on target if not above for Maths and Science. However, for all other subjects he was below average. Clive's attitude results show a majority response of 2 out of 5 which indicates that his attitude was less than satisfactory for 5 subjects including English and IT. Clive's attitude was considered by teachers as 'satisfactory' for subjects including maths, science and geography. In music Clive's attitude was considered very poor and in only one subject, History, was Clive's attitude considered to be good.

4.7.2 Experience of transition and comparison with previous move

Clive moved up to secondary education at the normal joining age alongside his two best friends Marcus and Romain. However, these friendships didn't seem to make much of an impact on Clive's first day as his early recollections of the move were:

[It was] a bit scary, coz I didn't know anyone and there were a load of new people in my tutor who I didn't know.

When asked about the first day walking into school Clive replied:

I was with no-one... I was really nervous, they gave us this little map of the school pointed out where to tutor was and I went to tutor.

It is interesting that Clive chose not to walk in to school with his friends from Ivy. This presents Clive as at best independent at worst isolated. It might also reflect his anxiety in the stability of friendships, a theme which was raised in his experience of Ivy school.

The school transition obviously had an affect upon Clive's perception of the meaning and purpose of schooling for him and as such the schooling identities he has in relation to this:

When I moved to Ivy I was really little and now I feel really grown-up.

When asked what made him feel grown up Clive responded:

Because I have to wear these clothes and this tie and we didn't wear that at Ivy we just wore a polo shirt and a top.

This change in school attire obviously marked a change in self-perception regarding the association between misbehaving and being childish and behaving and being grown up. When asked what difference does feeling grown up mean in terms of moving schools, Clive responded:

At Ivy I was really naughty and now I'm grown up and getting better, I'm not good yet, but I'm getting better.

However, as will be discussed later, this attitude didn't always manifest itself in practice.

4.8 Out of school interests

4.8.1 Out of school activities

It was surprising that football, the formative activity which enabled Clive to foster social links both in and out of his last school, no longer seemed to hold any currency for Clive at year eight in the Maple. When asked about the football team he had played for Clive told me he had left:

I found it boring, didn't like it anymore.

Similarly Clive has since found fishing 'boring' which was another activity that although practiced less frequently was a common interest between Clive and his two closest friends at Ivy: Marcus and Romain. When asked why, Clive shrugged and claimed 'I don't know'. However, it was notable that none of Clive's current close friends had a particular interest in either sports, although no reference was made to whether Marcus or Romain still enjoyed 'football' or 'fishing'.

When asked what activities made Clive feel good out of school he responded 'nothing'. With further prompting as to what activities were more interesting than football or fishing Clive responded "ice hockey" and revealed that he attended an Ice hockey class Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday. Considering this is a big commitment it was surprising that Clive didn't mention the interest sooner nor cited it as an activity which made him feel good. This might suggest that it was not an activity which he associated with his school life as it was not an activity he practiced with any of his close friends at the Maple. Although he knew another child in the year who attended Ice Hockey also, this didn't

represent a close friendship. This lack of enthusiasm about out of school activities (at least in the context of a discussion about school) is significant as it suggests that an activity which was once an effective bridge into school and into the local community has since been lost. It may be that the primary reason for this was that the social relationships involved with the out of school activities that Clive was currently involved with no longer connected in a profound way with social relationships in the school. Whilst it may be that Clive felt more bonded to his local area, he was clearly in need of further bridging into the school culture as the following discussion illustrates that in some ways Clive has further retreated from the school.

4.8.2 Homebound activities

Whilst external social activities seemed to be of less relevance for Clive in his secondary school context, he was more enthusiastic about home bound activities. Clive's interest in cooking had grown from Ivy school and he told me that he cooked "pizza's and stuff" for himself and his brothers. However, this was an interest which did to some extent appear to have aided bridging into school and Clive was very enthusiastic about food technology lessons with his friend Jim where they both enjoyed cooking and experimentation with food during this lesson.

Unfortunately the other home-bound activity which Clive used to enjoy at Ivy: involving an interest in computers, did not bridge into school, although he claimed to still enjoy playing with the computer at home. The example given below illustrates the lack of interest with which Clive engaged with the learning activity during an IT lesson:

Clive is joking and laughing with Miles and James at 11:21. There is collective chatting between the four of them including Trevor. James asks the teacher if they are supposed to be working together, she replies "No you are not supposed to be working together Clive I'm going to move you if you don't do your own work". Clive whines "I don't know what to do". The LSA comes over to the group and there is a lot of giggling. Clive and James slouch and make faces instead of listening to her instruction. The LSA

responds “Boys please”. It doesn’t make much impact as Clive continues to pull faces although this goes unchecked. Trevor gets told off for chewing gum and at 11:26 the teacher tells the group to stand up. “You are standing up because some of you are not listening to me. I know it’s the end of term, but I want to finish top trumps. Who hasn’t started yet? Clive? Trevor? Everyone else apart from those two lads carry on”. Clive and Trevor get called over, after their instruction they are separated and Clive is moved. When seated Clive pulls apart his keypad and starts to brandish it as a gun. He chats and jokes with his new seat-mate and is told off again. Trevor tries to gain Clive’s attention but he ignores him. Clive is sent to the corner at 11:34 and two minutes later the teacher comes and goes through the activity again with him. At the end of the lesson the teacher offers to stay in with the boys over lunch if they would like to finish their top trumps but they aren’t very interested.

When questioned about this lesson and what he thought about IT lessons generally Clive responded:

I would have done good, but I wasn’t here a week, so I didn’t really know what they were doing.... I was ill with a sickness bug.

This had been a recurrent theme with Clive whose registration class teacher told me during informal conversation that he was concerned about Clive’s level of absenteeism. Although his mother provided notes detailing illness, his form tutor suspected that these periods off school did not reflect genuine sickness. Indeed from his discussion over his IT progression Clive appeared not to have kept up with the rest of the class, and as the above classroom excerpt reflects he chose to mess around as opposed to catch up with the activity in hand.

The following discussion regarding Clive’s time off school due to illness, reflects a growing friction between home and school life such that as Clive retreated more into home life, he felt increasingly isolated from school:

CB: Haven’t you been a bit poorly quite a lot recently?
Clive: Yeah.
CB: How come?
Clive: Dunno...

CB: Does that make it hard to go back into school?
Clive: Yeah really hard.
CB: Do you prefer staying at home then to going in to school?
Clive: Yeah, it's boring (at school).
CB: What do you do at home?
Clive: Lie in my bed.
CB: That doesn't sound much fun?
Clive: I just fiddle with my gadgets and stuff.

The significance of Clive's bedroom emerged later in the discussion when he was asked 'where is your favourite place?' to which he responded:

Clive: My room
CB: What is it about it that you like?
Clive: Cozy, cool and I like having my own space.
CB: Do you not feel you have a space at school?
Clive: No, coz there's everyone around.
CB: Is it important because it's your personal space or your space with your family?
Clive: Personal space.

It seemed Clive would rather choose social isolation from his friends at school, even if that involved staying in his room where he felt comfortable and had some autonomy. Unfortunately that only served to make him feel more isolated from school life and lessons as illustrated by the ICT example.

4.9 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

4.9.1 Bridging social activities

From the discussion above the reader might expect Clive to be unpopular in school and not to mix with many children. To the contrary Clive claimed a number of friends within his year group and this was supported by observation, but the peer group to which he drew a collective social group identity were all contained within his registration class and comprised of:

Me, Jim Miles and James and Trevor.

Outside of the core group Clive had a wider set of friends within the class, these were mostly girls and related to looser friendships prior to moving up to secondary school:

Jim knew Lilly and Lilly knew Mavis and Miles knew Cara and Jenny from primary school.

The main break-time social activity for Clive and his friends involved gathering at the pond, this was contained in a secluded area set away from the other children and out of sight from passers by. Interestingly though this was not a rebellious act to break school rules, rather the activity was legitimated by staff who were complicit with the pupils' guise that this was in order to 'clean it out':

- Clive:** I go to the pond
CB: What do you do there then?
Clive: We just hang around there and clean it out.
CB: Oh really, that's very helpful. Any particular reason?
Clive: No we just do it coz we're bored and... because we get chocolate... and it's fun.

However the significance of the pond for Clive was revealed later when he was asked what made him feel happy at school to which he replied:

- Clive:** The pond
CB: Why is that then?
Clive: Because it's fun, its fun hanging out there, coz no-one is watching me.
CB: So it feels like your space then?
Clive: Yeah.

The importance of the pond territory was clearly totally separate from the activity of cleaning it out, in fact from observation it was questionable how much cleaning was actually carried out. Rather it appeared that the pond was important to Clive as a space in which he felt an element of ownership and autonomy, where he could generate bonded identity group ties associated with the pond territory as a separate space from authority figures and outsiders external to the group. The pond was evidently the territory of his social group.

4.9.2 Bonding social-group identity

It was apparent that these friendships associated with Clive's pond territory social group have had quite a formative affect on his social identity. His former best friends Marcus and Romain also attended the Maple and Clive was still connected with them. However, this was through a looser form of social ties such as in talking around school and in the playground, but when asked if they were still friends he replied "yes, but not so much". This might be seen as supporting Clive's anxiety stemming from primary school regarding the continuity of friendships. Although both friends had moved to the same school as Clive, the friendships hadn't really lasted, at least in terms of the formative close friendships they represented before. It is interesting however, that although the people had changed, the social identity Clive's was drawn towards seemed very similar to that from primary school. His group of class friends in year seven were the 'mischievous' boys of the classroom as described by their geography and history teacher Mr Harlow:

Clive I would describe as quite immature, he rushes his work, doesn't do it to the best of his ability. He isn't nasty, just mischievous. Hadn't achieved anything [on the group project] at the end of the first week so had to do book work individually, absolutely hated it and obviously worked on the group project over the weekend and brought in something which had the potential to be very good, but again they've lost the track of it...He will get distracted by his friends very quickly.

How this behaviour manifested in class will be discussed in the following section. Here I want to draw attention to the significant impact of Clive's friendships upon his behaviour in school such that they could be seen to strongly affect his decisions to work or mess around. When Clive had the personal autonomy of his 'personal space' at home he chose to work very hard on the school project, however as soon as he returned to school and among peers, he stopped working on it. Being that his friends had previously made a big impact on Clive's schooling experience I will now focus upon the tightness of Clive's bonds with his friends in the Maple and how this played out in terms of his anxiety over the stability of friendships.

A key insight into Clive's security in his school friendships emerged within the following discussion whereby Clive was asked who were the people the people he trusted with whom to discuss a personal matter:

Clive: I can't trust anyone.

CB: You cant trust anyone?

Clive: Well I can trust my mum and one of my brothers but not the other one... I can't trust my friends, my 4 friends. [Jim, James, Miles and Trevor.]

CB: How come?

Clive: I don't know

CB: What about the teachers?

Clive: Ummm No.

CB: Would you like to be able to trust your friends?

Clive: I'd like to.

CB: What do you think would happen if you did tell your friends something that was important to you?

Clive: They'll go spread it or something.

CB: What about if someone were to tell you something.

Clive: No I wouldn't tell, I know a load of secrets of my mates.

This illustrates that Clive recognised the importance of trust in friendships, but felt unable to maintain trust in his current school friendship group. It is apparent that Clive's anxiety was clearly more prominent than ever before. This insecurity in the continuity of friendships may explain his continued efforts to conform to the behaviour of the social group. It is also interesting to consider that the social identity is more durable than the individuals who constitute the peer group. This might suggest Clive felt more 'at home' in the social identity of being a leader within a peer group characterised by joking and messing around rather than actually making close friends with whom he felt he was able to trust and rely on. Later in the discussion Clive was asked if he would confide in any of his friends:

Clive: James, because he lives not long away from me.

CB: Why would that make you trust him more?

Clive: I dunno because I can go round his house easily and tell him stuff.

This comment is significant as it draws a distinction between the home as a secure and confidential territory, and the school as somewhere not to confide secrets.

4.10 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

4.11 Ring-leader disruptive / clever mathematician dualism

In turning to a consideration of Clive's classroom experience both his ICT, geography and science teacher told me that Clive's social group were often separated from each other by teachers in class, however in reference to the science lesson discussed below Clive could be seen working on a group project with Miles and James:

Clive is working with two boys on his table Miles and James. They are chatting and laughing and it doesn't look as if they are too concerned with working on the game they are supposed to be finishing off. James throws something at Clive and he starts making noises. James puts up his hand and calls across the classroom 'sir can you come over'. Mr Harlow addresses the group "Er hush please boys, are we going to hire someone to shoot Clive in the head for talking whilst I'm talking?" another group of boys respond "yeah throw him into a pit of lava". Clive grins around the group and stops talking.

After the lesson I asked about Clive's group and Mr Harlow described his group as 'mischievous'. He explained the reason they were working together:

You wouldn't put them together at the start of the year but as it's the end of term it's fine. They naturally would choose to work together but they would just mess around.

4.11.1 'Clever mathematician' self valuing identity

As with his identity at Ivy, Clive still presented pride (albeit anxious) in his abilities in maths. When asked how he was doing in school Clive responded in making first reference to formal learning outcomes, suggesting that despite his misbehaviour the performance of his formal learning outcomes was still important for him:

Clive: Well uh, I've got a good maths level, I've got 60. Coz when I moved up here I was a 4A and now I'm a 6C.

CB: So how do you know you've got that then?

Clive: Well we did our maths tests, the end of year tests about a month ago and we got the results.

CB: And how did you feel about it?

Clive: Really happy coz I got the best in the class.

CB: Was anyone else was happy about that?

Clive: Yes my teacher was happy... Coz in lessons have her in I normally mess around like I'm like really lazy and then he's like really shocked because I was lazy...

CB: So how come you did so well if you weren't listening?

Clive: coz when I talk to people I never look at them when I'm talking to them so that they think I don't listen, but I am.

CB: Why don't you look at them then?

Clive: I don't know don't like to...

CB: Why is that?

Clive: (...) I don't know, nervous I think.

This is very interesting as despite Clive's apparent out-spokenness in terms of misbehaviour in lessons, there was clearly an anxiety around work, and communication with others (possibly those in authority). It also suggests a perception that others have low expectations of him which might be understandable considering he was held in the lower maths group for misbehaviour in Ivy school.

This pride in performing well in maths seemed in contrast to Clive's disruptive behaviour in lessons. When challenged about his efforts to be 'good' now that he was more grown up at secondary school, Clive's response suggested that being naughty was a fundamental bonding activity of his friendship group to such an extent that even as the 'leader' of the group, if Clive were to attempt to change this behaviour he would be excluded from the group:

CB: I thought you were trying to be good?

Clive: I did and then I gave up.

CB: You gave up, why did you give up?

Clive: I was good for ages but then when I first got in trouble I gave up.

CB: What was it that made you give up?

Clive: I dunno, coz when I started to mess around my mates started to mess around too so then I started messing around with em.

CB: Do you think that you're like the ringleader then?

Clive: I dunno, maybe.

CB: So whatever you do they do?

Clive: Not all the time, sometimes.

CB: So if you were really good wouldn't then they be good?

Clive: Doubt it. No they'd probably try to make me mess around.

CB: So do you think that happens then, when you try to be good?

Clive: Yeah. Whenever I try to be good everyone shouts at me, Oh you're a goodie goodie.

Echoed in this discussion is the tension which emerged at Ivy school between wanting to do well in school, but feeling pulled by the peer group into behaving so as to please his friends instead of manifesting the behaviour appropriate for doing well in class.

4.11.2 Over-coming classroom tensions

Clive was clearly aware of the tension between doing well and messing around. He recognised the importance of doing well, when asked what was important about school he responded:

Clive: Maths, English, science, I dunno what others.

CB: Why are they the most important?

Clive: I dunno I just think they are... coz my dad said they're the ones you need really to get a job.

Here Clive can be seen to be faced with a quandary; he recognised the need to do well, and drew great pleasure from the occasions when he did achieve highly in these core subjects such as maths. Furthermore, under the autonomy of his 'personal space' at home he worked hard on his school science project, and produced a good piece of work. Yet, Clive also recognised the negative impact of his misbehaviour which prevented him from consistently applying himself to his work and achieving highly. This is reflected in his low attitude scores and his attainment scores that were below the national average. When contextualising his formal learning outcomes at the end of year eight against his key stage two results, it is apparent that Clive was under-achieving to his ability,

a reflection of his anti-formal learning behaviour in school, and time off for illness.

In both schools Clive could be seen to make concerted efforts to 'be good' but it seems he 'gave up'. This may be because whilst the long-term implications may loom in the back of his mind, the behaviour required to achieve them was not sustainable on a daily basis. This was because Clive's school life was mediated positively by his role within what was for him an unstable peer group because he felt his friendships were inevitably transient. The only constant for Clive was in the persona of misbehaving, and being cocky which may be seen as a mask to cover the reality that he was too nervous to look people in the eye. Therefore, in order to manage the day to day life Clive felt no choice but to conform to the behaviour which pleased his friends and insured his insider status (for the time being at least). Even these efforts could sometimes be seen to fall short, in that Clive would rather (and often did) stay at home in his safe and secure space where his isolation was an autonomous decision as opposed to a situation of his circumstance.

4.12 Summary: what role mobility?

In reflecting upon the 'turbulent impact' on Clive's schooling experience it is clearly very difficult to disentangle the effects of turbulence from other aspects of Clive's background such as the experience of family break-up and other cultural factors. Inferences can only be made in terms of the nuances in this narrative and how theories of the turbulent experience may explain these.

In considering Clive's schooling relationships with teachers and peers, a story emerges in terms of a growing detachment of trust and faith in the stability of enduring positive relationships. Clive's recollections of his first school were of a 'nice' teacher and friends he "used to never worry about splitting up with". This anxiety was clearly present in Ivy school in the tensions Clive felt in conforming to peer group misbehaviour in class and in his uncertainty in relation to the regard he was held in by teachers. At secondary school this anxiety appeared to have grown. Clive claimed not to trust any of his friends or teachers and yet felt he desperately had to work on his misbehaving social identity although he

recognised this flew in the face of efforts to 'be good', which he saw as the means to achieving well in the core subjects. This growing anxiety in relationships appeared to have manifested some negative effects in terms of Clive's schooling experiences. Whereas in Ivy, Clive could be seen to make considerable effort to mediate the effects of his peer group in electing to sit separately, his lack of faith that such measures would enable him to keep conformity with the peer group have prevented such steps at secondary school. Clive's lack of faith in the endurance of close friendships seems well-founded, he was no longer close friends with his core group from Ivy school and yet his social group identity remained similar. Clive clearly gained a sense of self value from being a leader in his peer group and this seemed to conform him in a particular behaviour pattern that is in tension with being successful at school. Clive's status in the peer group served him well in the playground and yet Clive was unable to bridge into the classroom in generating a meaningful identity in class which enabled him to 'be good'. Rather Clive claimed that he 'gave up' being good, well aware of the negative long-term consequences this might have. It is possible that Clive felt 'at home' in ways of being and doing in the classroom, and that the daily aspects of his behavioural performance outweighed the impact of the performance of his formal learning outcomes with regards the constitution of a self valuing identity in school. Clive was clearly 'naughty' at least in a mischievous sense before he had moved schools and yet this identity may have been assumed as a mask to cover up anxiety (associated with work) and to allay an anxiety concerned with friends.

In summary, this narrative tells a story of a child who can be seen to be increasingly isolated in school, who would prefer to lie at home in bed as opposed to go into school with his peers. This has manifested in protracted periods of absenteeism. The isolation is experienced in terms of a lack of control and autonomy in relation to some parts of schooling. Informally Clive has been able to find a sanctuary in terms of 'the pond' territory within informal school territories, yet this is in sharp relief to the lack of control he felt in class where efforts to be part of the peer group resulted in poor work, teacher reprimands and falling behind even in subjects such as ICT where once he excelled. There are also moments of contradiction, such as when Clive did well in recent maths tests, thus reviving his talented mathematician identity, and

when he worked hard all weekend to rescue his science project, yet such moments were isolated and not reinforced in the day to day interactions of peer group classroom disruption. Such a narrative enables the identification of 'key moments' in Clive's schooling experience which may represent the turning point in relation to schooling identities and associated behaviours. One such key point can be understood in relation to the decision to down set Clive from the top to the bottom maths set and the critical impact upon his confidence in his subject specific learner identity which may have had knock on effect on his broader classroom disposition. The question remains as to whether this decision might have been made were Clive more secure in his relationships with peers and teachers? And whether the tug of war between his misbehaving social identity and talented mathematician identity may have ended differently. It could be speculated that he might have formed closer relationships with peers in the top set maths.

In terms of the difference schools can make we might consider the effectiveness with which Clive was able to bridge into Ivy school in comparison to the ease in which he was able to bridge into the Maple. At Ivy Clive did appear to be integrated into the local community better, in terms of playing football in a local team and meeting friends at the shops. This out of school activity could be seen to enable a bridge into the playground but not the classroom in comparison with the out of school activity Clive engaged in at the Maple: ice hockey, which appears to have aided no bridge into school life. However, it's important to recognise that ultimately it is not the bridging or bonding per se but how it is interpreted by the individual that is important - for Clive there was never certainty about either the bridging or the bonding. So what may appear to be have been a successful bridging activity at the Maple, for example the pond cleaning activity, has not translated into the social capital potential to build bonds between Clive and his teacher. Clive did not deconstruct the activity in those terms but rather the opposite in building a greater wall between the insiders (his peer group) and outsiders (everyone else.)

5. Codie case study

5.1 Background

5.1.1 Codie Profile

I first met Codie in year 5 at Ivy school. She lived at home with her mother, father and brother. Codie had moved just under two years previously from West London to Thornton. Codie did not claim school meals, but school staff believed her family to be on a low income, and supporting this, the family sometimes struggled to contribute to school events and excursions. Codie's family moved to the area as they were unable to find affordable accommodation in London.

5.1.2 School profile prior to moving

Codie's family had originally moved from the Thornton area to London when Codie was five. The school she moved to in London, 'the Dove', was a large primary situated on the outskirts of West London with almost 450 children on roll at the time of the last inspection (2007). The school has a diverse composition drawing approximately two thirds of pupils from non dominant ethnic backgrounds and half of pupils have an additional home language which well above the national average. Children were reported to come into the school with, in general, very low prior attainment, particularly in speaking and listening. The number of children on free school meals was above the national average and there were three children in local authority care. The Dove achieved a 'satisfactory' rating in all but one aspect of the Ofsted inspection including leadership, effectiveness and the curriculum. The school rated as 'good' in relation to personal development and well being.

5.1.3 Recollections of the Dove

When interviewed in year five at Ivy school approximately two years following her move to Ivy, Codie didn't remember much from her first school near

Thornton, apart from 'nice teachers and children'. Codie's feelings towards the Dove were somewhat contradictory. She remembered feeling 'scared' and 'a stranger' on her first day, but little more, and when she was asked to talk about the Dove her first response was:

It was crap.

However, when asked to describe the school, her follow up recollections were very positive:

It had its own swimming pool though... um, and had really bigger field than this... It was a big school... and it had the lower end and the lower upper end, put together with this nice little hall. ...fields, like pitches. There was a cool library, where you can r...read like Year 6's books as well. Yeah.

Despite this positive account of the school it appeared that the impact of the teachers was significant in affecting Codie's feelings for the school:

CB: So why was it crap?

Codie: Didn't like the teachers and I didn't like um, the Head Teacher.

However Codie's social experiences within the school were also rather positive, in that she had a 'gang of friends', of which she was still in touch with two of the group, Dana and Polly. Dana she saw regularly, even two years following her move from 'the Dove', in that the two girls attended a Saturday dance school in London. In order to attend these dance lessons, Codie stayed with her aunt in London and was picked up and taken to the school by Dana's mum. This is expanded upon later in reference to Codie's out of school activities. Codie saw Polly less frequently than Dana but they kept in touch primarily through the ongoing friendship between Codie's father and Polly's father:

Polly, we will go over and see her or she'll come to my birthday party and stuff like that...
...and I'll go round hers and she'll sleep round mine. My Dad and her Dad have known each other for six years.

5.1.4 Reasons for moving to Thornton

Codie's family were forced to move out of their flat in London due to a leak from upstairs flooding their flat. This prompted a move that was inevitable as the flat was too small for the family. Initially the family had wanted to stay in London but after 6 months of accommodation searching they were unable to find anything suitable in their price range. In the end the accommodation decision came down to a choice between a bedsit in London or their current house in Thornton, but Codie was upset with the decision which was made:

We had to look at loads of houses and we had about six months we were looking, well, and it took us two months to find a house... and there was a house still in London but it's basically a house where you had to go upstairs in the house to get into the flat... and I wanted that one because I was still in my school.

5.1.5 Feelings preceding the move

When asked how she felt about leaving the Dove, Codie replied 'very sad' because she didn't really appreciate it until she moved to her next school:

Codie: Cause all my friends were there that I knew.

CB: Yeah? But you thought the school was crap?

Codie: And then in the end I started to realise I should have liked the school more better.

CB: When did you realise that?

Codie: In year three here.

It appeared that Codie's sadness and regret about leaving her last school impacted upon her feelings towards joining Ivy and consequently it took her a long time to settle into her new school. Codie's recollections prior to joining Ivy school were of feeling 'really upset'.

5.1.6 First day at Ivy

Codie had clearer recollections of her first day at Ivy school in feeling very 'scared', however it was apparent in her account that the support of her parents on that day lent a sense of sharing the experience:

We drove here and I walked in with my Mum and Dad and then my Mum and Dad got shown around the house... school with me. And then we just joined there... in here.

However when her parents left, Codie's confidence was obviously affected in that she felt too intimidated to interact with anyone and preferred to go unnoticed:

I was really shy, didn't speak to anyone. I didn't put my hand up at all.

It seemed that this shyness was quite long lasting, in fact it wasn't until 'half way through' the year that Codie began to feel sufficiently confident to speak to others in the school. When prompted to think about the reasons for such shyness Codie's response suggested that in some ways she still felt that she hadn't adapted to her new school:

I don't, I don't belong here, I belong into my old school.

5.2 Out of school involvement

5.2.1 Friends out of school

When asked about her out of school activities, Codie responded:

I have two friends out of school, Dana and Polly.

She therefore associated her out of school friendships with the friends from her last school. It was understandable that Codie referred to Dana considering they saw each other every weekend to attend a dance class in Saturday. This activity was clearly of significance to her and she held aspirations of a career in performance, yet there were related career options she felt might be more attainable:

Codie: [I want to] become an actress, and dancer and singer Um, after I've done a few work at college and leave half way, at the age of 18.

CB: After you've done what at college?

Codie: Er, part the way learn, make-up and beauty centres and other stuff.

However, it was more surprising that Codie cited Polly as an out of school friend considering they only saw each other infrequently. This suggests the pervasiveness of nostalgic feelings towards her previous friendships that caused them still to have resonance over a year following relocation. When asked about whether she saw pupils from Ivy out of school Codie was rather vague and replied in less enthusiastic terms:

If I'm not grounded I will go and see Liza.

When asked if she saw anyone else Codie's response was:

Yea, sometimes I see Bonnie and go up to see her.

However, neither Liza nor Bonnie had been to Codie's house. Suggesting that Codie put effort into seeing pupils from the school, but this had to be on others' terms. As later discussion will show, relationships with Bonnie and Liza were precarious and at the time of interview Codie had fallen out with both, suggesting these were perhaps previous out of school contacts, as opposed to present ones. It seemed that Codie had made some attempt to convince another friend Emma to come to her house. Although this had not been successful so far:

Emma, cos I give her my number and she give me hers coz I will go down to see Emma, she wants to come up and get my Dad to pick her up.

Codie spent a lot of time out of school at home which caused some friction with her parents which will be elaborated upon in relation to Codie's later experiences at secondary school. Whilst at Ivy, Codie preferred to spend time in her own company choosing to watch television in her room:

If I'm watching the TV at home I find I like concentrating on the TV and not anyone around me.

5.2.2 Anxiety in relation to extended family

Codie spoke very positively with regards to her mother and father and despite what she saw as the banality of home-life. She therefore seemed secure within the home- sphere. However, as regards Codie's extended family, it was apparent that there may have been some strain between other family members in the past. Codie divulged sensitive information with regards to the relationship between her grandfather and her mother when her mother was a child. This discussion arose in relation to Codie's disruptive behaviour which she attributed to her grandmother's death from cancer four years ago. But in discussing this topic it appeared that her frustration and anger towards this situation was confused in relation to her grandmothers death and her grandfather's current behaviour towards her mother:

CB: I was going ask you, what, what does that mean, not having a settled day?

Codie: Um, when I'm really like bouncy and really like, all wound up and stuff and not really having a settled day.

CB: Do you often have not settled days, or is it just an occasional thing?

Codie: No, it's when I... on occasional days, when I miss my Nan... Mm and it makes me go all crazy.

Then the conversation turned to the impact upon Codie's familial relationships

My Mum used to be hurt by her Dad, my Grandad... when my mum was 14 years old.

My Grandad, he's still alive and he started to... being mean to my Mum when my Nan died. My Nan wouldn't have let my Granddad lay one finger on my mum if she was still alive.

The extent of her mother's mistreatment was unclear, Codie's head teacher and class teachers warned me that Codie had the tendency to create dramatic stories in order to generate attention. In supporting this claim they referred to an incident whereby the police had to be alerted due to a disturbing claim that Codie had made. Teachers assured me the matter was agreed with Codie, her family and the authorities that the claim was false and that Codie was safe and in no danger. However, it obviously had ripple effects with regards to Codie's

relationships with teachers, other pupils implicated (indirectly) in the claim, as well as her family. This would have inevitably put a huge strain upon Codie. Whether or not Codie's account of familial relationships were embellished is irrelevant to the fact that she presented as troubled in relation to the effect of her grandmother's death. Furthermore, any attention seeking behaviour such as the false claim made, raises the question of whether Codie may have felt overlooked in school.

5.3 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

5.3.1 Precarious friendships

From observation in school, and in the interview, Codie's behaviour could be seen to be very erratic. She frequently presented with dramatic mood changes which shifted from excitable to angry or sulky, overly confident and then anxious. These ups and downs in her nature appeared to be mirrored in her relationships with her friends, in which she was constantly arguing, falling out and sometimes (but not always) making up again:

Well I get on well with on well with them, Laura, Bonnie, Emma, Rina and Liza, but then what would happen is, if we had an argument we wouldn't be friends but then we can make up.

Codie demonstrated some anger towards peers in her class, particularly towards previous friends. Harboursing such animosity was clearly as integral to her experience with other peers as any positive experience with them. This was reflected in Codie's response to the question 'who do you get on with in school?' to which she replied:

Can we tell you who we hate at the end?

These significant fall-outs between friends even extended to her relationships with the only friends from Ivy that Codie saw out of school. It appeared that such fall-outs may be attributed to Codie's anger. This can be exemplified in the following conversation between Liza and Codie, where Liza is telling Codie why a group of girls have fallen out with her:

Liza: They said that you were really mean and I'm not being mean or anything. I'm not being mean or anything, but that person you really like said that.

Codie: Who was it?

Liza: I can't tell you.

Codie: You can. Cause I'm not gonna tell anyone.

Liza: Bonnie said you were mean because sometimes you shout a bit, don't you, when you get really angry?

Codie: Yeah, I shout. Everyone shouts when they're angry.

Liza: You shouted in her face and that's what made her say it, she got really upset.

In a separate incident during my time in Ivy, connected to the previous false claim made by Codie, Liza and Codie also fell out irreparably. Liza explained to me that she thought Codie was 'mean' to her implicating Liza in her false claim:

I really don't think Codie actually... cause she and I sort of don't, I don't like her a little bit and sort of do, cause... she lied to the... to the whole school... ...and then told the Police that I told her, Well, ... the reason why I don't sort of like her is because I didn't tell herSo that made me feel really sad and that's why I'm not too keen on Codie at the moment.

This suggests that whilst the incident itself may have been laid to rest, the implication with regards Codie's key friendships were ongoing.

5.3.2 Feeling overlooked

Codie's behaviour in my presence also suggested she was concerned about being overlooked. On one occasion when I was talking to Liza, Codie interrupted the conversation:

Codie: Liza can I quickly talk to Miss Brown?

Liza: What's it about?

Codie: I'm not telling you cause it's private.

Liza responded by raising her eyebrows and left us without saying a word. Codie proceeded to ask me:

- Codie:** Um, you know I wanted to tell um ask, um, is, like, could you like come and speak to us again.
- CB:** I was hoping to come back next term, when you're in Year six.
- Codie:** Yeah six. Yeah. I'll tell you what class I am in.
- CB:** Did you want to say anything else about something then?
- Codie:** No, that's it. That's all I wanted to tell you.

It was apparent from this conversation that Codie felt overlooked and wanted some attention from me. It seemed that she felt this to be a common experience with teachers in the school. She told me she found them 'boring'.

When asked why teachers were boring she responded:

- Codie:** But it's actually quite fun listening to you cos it's only two children.
- CB:** So if there's more children that the teacher is talking to it's less interesting?
- Codie:** You don't really get a chance to speak.

This might explain some of Codie's attempts to attract attention in class, as the next section will address.

5.4 Formal aspects of school

5.4.1 Disruptive behaviour in class

Codie's erratic behaviour could be seen to penetrate her life in class, in which she could frequently be seen to be restless, disruptive and attention seeking as the following extract reveals:

The children have silent reading and the teacher tells them to get on with it. They all do and there is a near silent noise level. Codie sits very still with her back straight and staring down at her book she looks like she's trying to look quiet, but it's not very convincing and I doubt she's sincere. The teacher glances at Codie and raises her eyebrow. I think she is suspicious too. A couple of minutes later Codie starts flicking her seat-mate and the teacher calls her by name. She stops. Codie starts gazing round the room and out the window. She then starts chatting to Dale. The teacher tells Codie off again for talking to Dale. After half an hour at 1:30 the teacher tells children to put their books away and go to their Maths places, which involves half the class leaving and

the other half joining from the parallel class. Before she goes the teacher calls Codie over and tells her she's not having a very settled day, can she please calm down.

When asked about this occasion Codie agreed that it was an unsettled day. I asked her what this meant and she replied:

Um, when I'm really like bouncy and really like, all wound up and stuff and not really having a settled day.

However, it was clear that she did not appreciate the effects of her unsettled behaviour on others and was very much bothered by the 'warnings' and 'crosses' she acquired as part of the behaviour code system:

It's hard with your behaviour cos when you're like one who's like both, it's very hard cos you have days when you wanna be really good and no warnings or crosses and there's days where think oh I'm gonna have to have a warning or cross like that. And then it's hard because especially me and Liza like that, because we like have days where we're good and then we have days when we're like bad.

This account is interesting as it suggests that Codie perceived a certain element of inevitability regarding her negative behaviour in class. It appeared that Codie did try to 'be really good' and managed to be sometimes, but then other times felt that she was unable to be.

5.4.2 Negative relationship with the teacher

Codie's 'unsettled' behaviour appeared to really impact upon her enjoyment of lessons and her relationship with her class teacher:

I've had Miss Kelly for 2 years now, it's my second year and I'm really like fed up when she has a go at me and my friends and I just don't like the teacher.

When asked why she responded:

Codie: I'm always talking... Because we all get bored in class plus the only reason why I'm silly in class is because I get bored and if I'm entertained and not bored then I'll tell people to be

quiet cos I'm trying to concentrate. And if I'm watching the TV at home I find I like concentrating on the TV and not anyone around me.

CB: So what do you think's different about the TV and lessons when you get bored?

Codie: Teachers talk all the time... They gossip a lot.

CB: What about?

Codie: Like people's annoying things.

Codie obviously felt that her classroom behaviour constituted one of such 'annoying things'. She thought that her teacher simply did not like her, with little evidence that I could observe. This appeared to have bred a fear of getting put on report. As with Liza, Codie felt more relaxed with teachers that didn't teach her *"Because they can't put anything on a report"* for a pupil not in their teaching class.

5.4.3 Attempts to be an appropriate learner

Despite these common instances of disruptive classroom behaviour, at other times it seemed that Codie was switched on and keen to participate in class:

The teacher launches straight into the lesson bringing up a stopwatch on the screen and telling children they have five minutes to complete the times square with the numbers she's given them. All children seem to be working on their own and not collaborating over the answers. Miss Kelly calls out "finished" after 3:50 minutes. When it gets to five seconds before the five minute mark, several of the class starts chanting out 5,4,3,2,1, stop, and the teacher asks the class who wants more time. Most children do including Codie. The children who have finished queue up to show Miss Kelly, Codie is fifth in line and waits patiently. Codie gets a house point for being correct. When they have been checked and the extended time has elapsed, Codie calls out a suggestion that they should play "round the world". It seems this behaviour is appropriate in that the teacher does not appear cross she has called out but responds telling the class that they have to earn playing 'round the world' today and if they work hard they will play it at the end of the lesson. She proceeds to ask the class questions and Codie puts her hand up for all of them, she looks excited and jiggles in her seat, at one point she puts her hand over her mouth, but doesn't call out. The teacher praises the class and starts organising the class for the game.

Codie agreed that this lesson constituted one in which she was more 'settled' and was 'really good'. When asked why she felt she behaved well during this numeracy lesson Codie replied:

Cos when you are, weren't um, like think you're rubbish at something you actually are, you get when you pay more attention into it like I pay lots of attentions into Maths, I don't like getting a question wrong. So I keep thinking of an answer and keep putting my hands up I keep trying. And I er just really like it.

So it appeared that for Codie that the positive reinforcement of the house point may have contributed to the belief that she had something to offer to the class, and thus participate in a constructive way, as opposed to resisting.

Another factor which might have contributed to Codie's positive response as regards numeracy lessons was in relation to her additional tutoring in numeracy. When asked how she was doing in Maths Codie replied:

Codie: Mmm good.

CB: Good?

Codie: Well, quite good

CB: How do you know?

Codie: Cos I have a... um I have a Mrs Branson's husband as my tutor and I get extra help so I think I'm coming along.

The nature of the 'tutoring' arrangement was unclear, in that Codie's family are on a low income, however, Mrs Branson as a friend of her mother, represented a valuable social capital resource with regards endorsing pro-educational values. This supports Coleman's (1997) hypothesis that family-community social bonds can have a beneficial effect with regards instilling the importance of pro-educational values. Not only does this additional tutoring illustrate Codie's family's support and the priority they give towards her learning, but it appears to have had the effect of fostering the belief that she is worthy of receiving 'extra help' which boosted confidence in her learning.

5.4.4 De-motivating effect of removed group work

Codie's confidence in Maths was, however, limited because of the school's decision to remove children from some lessons to learn in a SEN support group outside the class. Sometimes this group was lead by a member of support staff, but at other times the group was left unattended. On one such unattended support group I joined the table and asked Codie and Liza why they were learning outside. Liza and Codie responded that they were "dumb-dumbs". When I questioned this, Codie responded recognising the derogatory label and agreed with Liza that the teachers would be 'angry' if they heard the name. When asked why she replied:

Cause we're bullying ourselves, basically.

It is evident that working separately did not have a positive effect upon Codie's self image and she claimed to much prefer working with the whole class for numeracy:

Cause you're with everyone basically you want to be with.[and] Cause when you're outside you're just with all the boys.

This suggests that the separated SEN group may have contributed to Codie's sense of feeling overlooked within school.

5.5 Transition to secondary

5.5.1 Codie's profile at the Maple

I followed up Codie three years later when she was in year eight at the Maple. Codie was currently placed in the middle groups for English, and lower groups for maths and science. Codie's prior attainment in terms of key stage two SATs results were in line with the national minimum target of level four for English and Science and grade three for Maths.

Codie's most recent assessments at the Maple are provided below. Both in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest, five is the highest and one the lowest. Attainment

grades are measured by key stage tests and teacher assessment in English, maths and science and purely teacher assessment in all other subjects:

Table 5. Codie's Academic Performances Spring 08

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	4B	2*
Maths	3A	3*
Science	4C	3*
IT	4A	3*
Drama	4A	3*
Art	4C	2*
DT	4A	4*
European Studies	4C	4*
Geography	4C	3*
History	5C	3*
Music	5C	4*
Religious Education	4B	3*
Physical Education	4A	3*

These results suggest that in Spring '09' Codie was attaining on target only for Music and History and for all other subjects she was below average. Codie's attitude results show a majority response of three out of five for eight subjects which indicates that her attitude was satisfactory for the majority of lessons. In three subjects Codie's attitude considered to be good and for two subjects including English her attitude was rated as less than satisfactory. However, it is interesting to consider the fluctuation in Codie's reports. In order to do so it's necessary to consider her previous Autumn term report:

Table 6. Codie's Academic Performances Autumn 08

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	4B	3*
Maths	3B	2*
Science	4B	4*
IT	4B	2*
Drama	5C	3*
Art	4C	3*
DT	4A	2*
European Studies	3A	2*
Geography	4A	4*
History	4A	4*
Music	5C	3*
Religious Education	4C	3*
Physical Education	4B	3*

By these results it is apparent that Codie had only made progress in six subjects: Maths, IT, European Studies and History, RE and PE and yet she was only in line with national attainment for one of these subjects – History. Yet in three subjects Codie made no progress at all in terms of her attainment English, Art, and DT. More significantly Codie actually scored lower attainment scores than the previous term in both Science, and Geography. Furthermore, in relation to her attitude scores, Codie's attitude had slipped in Science, History and Geography from 'good' to 'satisfactory'. Only in Music, European studies and DT had Codie's attitude improved from satisfactory to good. These results will be reflected upon in later discussion.

5.5.2 Feelings preceding the move

The move to secondary was a significant step for Codie, and one in which she had mixed feelings. On the one hand she was very 'nervous' and found the thought of secondary school 'scary' raising negative experiences of her

previous turbulent move. Although she knew people from Ivy and from out of school that were going up to secondary school at the same time, this didn't provide much comfort. When asked if she found this helpful Codie replied:

Not really, I just thought that it's gonna be a bit the same as moving from the Dove to Ivy

On the other hand Codie recognised that the move to secondary marked a new phase in her development in representing a significant step towards adulthood and the associated positives that this would involve, including being:

Able to be treated a bit more by respect by your parents because of growing up and needing your rights and all that lot.

However, she recognised that this wouldn't be an automatic entitlement but also came associated with her responsibilities involved with:

Going to a different school that's more serious, knuckling down more with friends, detentions, getting involved and just getting told off a bit.

In this sense there was an aspect of the move which represented an opportunity for starting afresh and putting right the aspects of her schooling life she felt needing addressing from her experiences at Ivy.

5.5.3 Comparing first days at the Maple and Ivy

Codie's experience of her first day at the Maple was greatly aided by the effect of the induction day previously, in which she had had the opportunity to meet several other pupils who would be in her tutor group, as well as meeting her form tutor. She found this reassuring and offered an element of familiarity which enabled her to build upon previous acquaintances. Upon recollection, Codie's experience of her first day from a social perspective was actually more positive than her later experiences:

When we had induction day I got to know these girls in my tutor; Scarlet and Thea, and a few more people and what we did was on the first day we were hanging around with each other and other people, Ashleigh and Mavis, getting to know each other and we started hanging around

for the first day and then everything changed. And it was OK because at least I knew a few people and I was used to my tutor so I was used to them being in there.

Codie experienced a significant contrast between the transition to secondary school and her turbulent move to Ivy. She attributed the traumatic impact of the earlier move to not feeling ready to let go of her old life or have any positive expectations about her new school:

First day at Ivy was more frightening because I had to leave school and I had to leave all my friends and all the teachers that I grew really fond with and kind of coming to Ivy was getting to know teachers and I still don't remember their names and I still don't remember their faces, unless I see them in the shopping centre. I wasn't used to be in a different school with different uniform and different friends, I was still trying to remember every last bit that I had of the Dove and when I went to Ivy I think I cried for the first two weeks coz I missed so much of my friends.

In this sense then the move to the Maple could be seen as a less traumatic type of move for Codie than the previous move to Ivy in that she had not lost old friends. As such Codie could be seen to embrace the opportunity for 'moving on' in positive ways in terms of her personal development. However, as later discussion will outline, she could not always match her good intentions.

5.6 Out of school involvement

5.6.1 Retaining family ties but losing past friendships

In the last two years Codie had settled more into her local area, but it appeared to have taken her a long while to adjust to the small town, as even after four years, it was clear that Codie still didn't feel totally at home:

I'm still finding my way around with my Mum, like going shopping and stuff, I mean we've been here for four years but we're doing our best.

Codie kept in contact with her sister who lived in her 'old town' in West London. She also regularly visited her old neighbours. When asked what she liked doing best out of school, Codie responded that her favourite thing was to visit her

family in London. This brought back fond memories and a sense of familiarity and belonging:

I remembered all the short routes and seeing my sister too because she lives quite close to my old friend I just get really excited.

However, possibly in relation to giving up her dance class, Codie no longer kept in touch with her previous friends. Yet the memories of her friendships in London were still pervasive and permeated her fond recollections of the past. This was evident in Codie's discussion of the contrast between the safety of her new town compared with the danger of her old. Yet as she described her old town in London it was clear there was a sense of excitement associated with her nostalgia for the area in which she had close relationships:

Codie: [Old town] is the most dodgiest place, like people get stabbed asked for drugs, its been dodgy ever since I've moved there.

CB: So do you feel safer here than in London?

Codie: When I'm here I think that no-ones going to get me, coz it's the country and it's boring and stuff. But I thought it was just getting used to the fact that I'm not going to be in a place where I had friends, loads of friends and good friends that stick up for me its like living in a place where I'm not gonna be with friends that I'm comfortable with going out.

5.6.2 Solitary out of school activities

The sense of boredom or frustration Codie might have felt towards her new town, may in part be explained in that she can be seen to have developed few links with her local area. After two years Codie was no more mixing with peers out of school. In fact she was more likely to spend time on her own at home, as opposed to joining any interest groups. When asked what hobbies or activities she was involved in out of school Codie replied:

Codie: Erm I do trampolining, I don't do it in school, out from school, I kind of teach myself a bit, I've got my own trampoline. I used to play volleyball in PE and I just like to still do it occasionally. I like to learn new things as well, like computer I'm always on it, out of school.

CB: Do you do that with someone else or on your own?

Codie: On my own I go on my sims [computer game] and stuff and I go on power point and word, act like a teacher.

Codie had to finish the dance lessons because they were too expensive. She was clearly very upset at this decision, not least because it represented a disconnection from her friend Dana. Furthermore, it appeared to have put some strain on her relationship with her mother.

Codie: No I quit, my mum didn't want to renew it anymore because it was too much money

CB: How did that make you feel?

Codie: It made me feel why didn't I get told this, that I wouldn't see Dana, and why didn't I get my say. I mean I don't want everything dumped on me, I don't want to be told what I have to do, I just want a say in everything.

5.6.3 Uneasy self identity

Codie felt that at home she was unable to "*be how I want to be*" as she had to conform to her parents expectations. Codie found that these expectations caused her difficulties because she felt coerced into conforming to a role which she felt didn't express who she was. When asked how should would want to be, Codie's response suggests she felt unable to have the space to get to know herself and her desires and not quite able to feel comfortable with herself:

Well a girl who learns and just learns to be how she, what she wants to be and not to be nagged at about stuff, really, when I'm at home I get nagged at to do homework, log off computer, get in the bath, dinners ready, empty the dishwasher.

It could be speculated that spending some much free time at home, might have created an additional strain on familial relationships. This endorses Coleman's (1997) view of the stress caused by turbulence upon inter-family bonds. In this case, the lack in Codie's community forms of social capital, have created additional pressure upon her inter-family social networks.

5.7 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

The precariousness of Codie's friendships did not seem to have changed very much since her experiences with friends at Ivy. Out of the five friends she cited previously, she had fallen out with all but one of them, Bonnie. However, they did not have any lessons together and from observation did not seem to socialise very much in school. However, often I saw Codie during lunch times and break times arm in arm with another girl. When I asked Codie about her break times she answered:

Codie: I hang around with my best mate Ellen and we hang around at break time and lunch and we just sit on the field and walk round the school.

CB: And where do you sit, do you sit together?

Codie: Both in the same place, we sit together, we're always with each other in the morning, around the school.

It appeared that this friendship was fairly recent as previously Codie was very close to another pupil Donna. However, since her falling out with Donna, Codie and her friend Ellen appeared from observation, as well as from Codie's own account, to be inseparable, in school at least.

CB: So who's your best friend now?

Codie: Erm I would say Ellen out of those in school.

CB: And why is she your best friend?

Codie: Erm I just think we get along better than I did with Donna and I think whatever she does I do.

This account echoes Pahl's (1998) friendship of pleasure, which he saw as an unhealthy dynamic whereby tight emotional bonds lead to co-dependency and reliance.

5.7.1 'Empty hall' territory

Codie could be seen to be clearly anxious in her friendship with Ellen, in seeking to keep Ellen's company for herself. As such Codie felt drawn to the 'empty hall' territory during break-times as she felt this was the only area in which she could generate any sense of privacy from others and feel comfortable. This emerged through a discussion when Codie was asked where her favourite place in school was:

Codie: I would say when I'm out at break and lunch

CB: Whereabouts physically?

Codie: Just walking around really, coz that's all I really do with Ellen we walk around, go to the toilets, that kind of thing, is the main thing we do.

CB: So if you could choose one bit of the school that was your favourite?

Codie: I would say out by the hall.

CB: Why's that?

Codie: Coz like no-one really goes there. They only go there for the food and then they stay there and then they've gone after a while.

CB: So you like the hall when it's empty?

Codie: Yeah it feels like there's only a few people left walking past and we can really use it and think we've got the place to ourselves.

Codie's friendship with Ellen also represents an example of Putnam's (2000) bonded social network. Their relationship is clearly exclusive and Codie feels most secure within it in the absence of peers.

5.7.3 Alienation from tutor group

Time with Ellen may have been precious because Codie and Ellen shared no lessons together although they shared a commonality through being in the same 'house' for inter-year competitions, which was something Codie was keen to point out:

CB: And do you [and Ellen] have any lessons together?

Codie: No she's in my house, she's in my house, but in a different tutor so we don't ever have any lessons together.

Codie's anxiety may well be understandable given that despite Codie's initial positive experiences with her tutor group, she had since become quite alienated in relation to her registration class. This is significant, as apart from numeracy, literacy and European studies, Codie shared all lessons with her tutor group.

CB: Is there anyone you sit next to that you particularly don't like?

Codie: Basically my whole tutor when I'm with em,

CB: Really? Your whole tutor?

Codie: No um, I've been out with like half of them, and none of them like me now, so everyone like hates me.

The significance of tutor based friendships can be seen to be highly important, especially within the first year of secondary school (this is something which is expanded up in the comparator group chapter.) One year following this interview it is notable that Ellen did not even cite Codie as one of her loose friends in her socio-gram diagram, which suggests that history may have repeated itself as it did with Donna and Codie. Apart from Megan, Codie was the only case study child who had no friends within her tutor group and as such represented an extreme case of an isolated pupil.

5.7.4 Distrust in friends and peers

Whilst Codie's friendships appeared to lack longevity, it could be seen that grievances have been very long-lasting, for example the feud between Codie and Liza. However, it seemed that what was a personal rift went on to implicate other peers, so that Codie thought she was victimised by other pupils in her year group which she understood to have an unfounded grudge against her:

Codie: You know Liza, well we're like not friends, apparently I was taking the mick out of her mate's brother for being disabled which I wasn't, but apparently five people have gone up to her and said that I have, like probably they hate me, but they didn't see it, just wanted to stir it up.

CB: So you think there are people in the year which stir things up then?

Codie: Load of people, Liza will stir it up, loads of people they wanna get involved and just stir it up, so the person who hasn't done anything will get blamed for doing it.

The behaviour of others appeared to have resulted in creating a lack of trust in her friends and peers. In response to the question of which of her friends she could trust in order to discuss a personal matter Codie responded:

I don't want any one of my friends knowing my private stuff. And so it's just about trying to focus on who to trust like to tell secrets, because I see what they say and do.

But in reflecting upon who she had turned to concerning friendship matters it appeared that Codie had more positive experiences in terms of the pupil support pastoral team, who had proved trustworthy in maintaining her confidence, even if not overly effective in terms of tackling the bullying:

CB: If [you had] an issue to do with friendships who would you go to?

Codie: Erm I think pupil support, sometimes my tutor, mainly pupil support because like my tutor has to deal with stuff that happens in the classroom and how I behave, but here [pupil support] I can talk about stuff like a secret people are spreading, like saying I've started my periods and stuff like that I would come here because I want it sorted... I talk to them about like if I'm getting bullied stuff like that, and I do trust them and they do sort it but it just carries on, the people who are bullies they don't listen, they just want to do it to wind you up and to get you on their level.

This is interesting as Codie perceived a clear dualism between the formal and informal school territories with different lines of authority and accountability associated with each. Whereas Codie associated teachers (such as her tutor) with formal school spaces, for example the territories of the classroom, she believed their interest in her behaviour was confined only to this sphere. If Codie experienced problems in social aspects of her school life which were located outside of the formal spaces of the classroom, she would seek out a separate form of support: pupil support.

5.8 Formal aspects

5.8.1 Excluded in class

It is possible to understand why Codie may have seen the formal and informal spheres of school in such dualistic terms, in relation to the different experience she had within each. Whilst she has been able to find some form of inclusion during break times in relation to her friendship with Ellen, Codie clearly felt a sense of dislocation in relation to her tutor group within class-time. Whereas Codie got along with Mavis on the first day at the Maple, since then she claimed there were only two girls in the class that she could count as even loose friends:

Ashleigh, Molly and that's really it really. Well I kind of get along with Ashleigh at first and Molly from my old school.

Despite her lack of friendships within class, it appeared that Codie's social interactions played a significant role in her attitude towards, behaviour within and experience of lessons. When asked whether she enjoyed lessons Codie replied:

It depends like if I go into tutor and someone says something really bad about me it would be on my mind all day, really annoying. And I'm just worried that they're gonna say it again it's gonna get out of hand. I'm going to lose my temper and shout in their face and all that lot and then get sent out of class I just worry about that and then I just disbehave in the lesson.

Here it can be seen that for Codie as opposed to the subject itself determining her enjoyment of the lesson, the more important factors were feeling comfortable and included in the social relationships within her class. It is interesting to contextualise this comment with respect to her attainment and attitude scores across the two terms. As these formal assessments demonstrate, Codie's attitude to learning could be seen to oscillate wildly as did her attainment scores. This demonstrates the unstable nature of Codie's orientation to learning and the impact that Codie's stability in class could have upon her learning outcomes.

Another factor which contributed to Codie's sense of exclusion was her removal from registration class taught French, to learn European studies, a small group taught by learning support assistants in the learning support room. This group consisted of a small group of children across the year group with low attainment. Codie explained to me her feelings about being removed from mainstream lessons to take European studies:

Codie: Well instead of doing French I do European studies and that like a small group in a small room, so yeah they do that here.

CB: And you prefer that or being in the whole class?

Codie: I prefer being in the class, um I hate the teachers they treat you like two years olds and the work is so easy ... I just act like it's so hard that I just ask for help and also its so boring, coz like I just wanna, if they want to treat us like two year olds then why not let us act like it is

what I want or why cant they treat us better erm treat us like adults instead of going yes we'll help you, sound like we're babies, treat us more like our age.

It is evident that being part of this group has had a negative impact upon Codie's sense of self esteem, but whilst she didn't feel that she should take part she does not have the confidence to object to being in the group. It is notable that Codie's attitude of feigned ignorance and helplessness is in contrast with her reactive orientation within other lessons. This account suggests Codie may have given in to teacher expectation and assumed a more passive learning orientation in this class. It would appear that this learning orientation is interpreted positively by the teacher as the teacher rated Codie's attitude as 'good' for this subject, an improvement on her previous terms score of 'poor'.

5.8.2 Relationship with teachers

Whilst Codie's feelings could be seen to fluctuate towards the lessons she attended, it was clear that she associated subjects strongly with her relationship with teachers. Codie provided a list of teachers she liked which included her teachers for English, Maths and Geography, as well as the deputy head and the pupil support workers. She also provided a list of teachers she 'hates' which included her teachers for: Geography, Physical Education, Religious Education and Science. When asked what determined whether she liked a teacher or not Codie responded:

Depending on the way they are towards me. If I was to talk a lot in the lesson and they was just to shout and send me out without having to discuss why I'm there see how I am, then, like Danny he really talks a lot in the lessons and gets on everyone's nerves and he gets let off everything. He can talk he can say something horrible to someone and he just gets let off and we explain it to the teachers and I ended up having an argument [in Science] with the teachers about it and then I just get sent out for it... Teachers don't see that the innocent person tells the truth they don't tell lies cos they don't want to get into trouble.

From this account it is clear that as well as feeling victimised by other pupils, Codie also felt persecuted by some of the teachers. This can be seen to have manifested in frustration or anger in her sense of injustice which can be seen to have contributed towards her unsettled and disruptive behaviour in class. It is

notable that for this subject as with Geography, both teachers for which Codie hated, her attainment had dropped over the last term, so that she was currently attaining lower scores than she had achieved the term previously. This demonstrates the dramatic effect that Codie's relationship with teachers could have upon her formal learning outcomes.

However, Codie's sense of persecution by teachers was not supported in observation. Their treatment of her was consistent of their attitude towards others in the class. It was notable however, that in some lessons Codie's outspoken behaviour was more tolerated than others. Yet as Codie herself acknowledged, her behaviour in lessons was alternatively erratic, playful or aggressive, according to her relationships with peers at the time.

5.8.3 Good intentions with regards her work

So pervasive was the influence of social relationships with regards her experience of lessons, they could even be seen to effect Codie's enjoyment of the lessons that she previously valued at primary school:

CB: What about Maths, you used to really like numeracy. Do you still?

Codie: I do like numeracy, I just think it's the people that are in my class.

The way that those around her, particularly her seat-mates, responded to Codie appeared to make a big impression upon the way she engaged with her work. Yet Codie was open about the frustration this caused her as she plainly recognised the value of education and considered it important to do well in her work:

CB: Do you think that who you sit next to in lessons make a difference to how much you enjoy that lesson?

Codie: If I sit next to someone I like then yeah I get on really better, if its someone I hate then I just don't do the work coz I'm just focusing on what they are doing that I can get into trouble, so I can move or get them into trouble to get sent out, so that goes along in my mind, but otherwise than that then I don't care what the lesson is really I just get along coz I want a good education and a good career when I'm older.

The following classroom observation of a numeracy lesson illustrates Codie's restless and distracted behaviour during lessons:

Codie walks into class loudly and takes a seat on her own at the back of the classroom. The teacher asks the class to quieten and explains the activity which is to colour in number patterns on a given worksheet. As she is explaining the activity, Codie starts whispering to Annie at the desk in front of her. She gets told off by the teacher for talking. As the activity commences Codie carries on talking to Annie, asking her questions about her birthday which is today. Annie is not overly interested and gives her quite short answers. Codie loses interest in the conversation and calls out to the teacher to ask the teacher about the activities for the next week- being the last week of school; "Can we have a party tomorrow, play a bit of bingo and eat popcorn? no?, well can we watch a video then?" The teacher responds in a kindly manner, that they might be able to play number bingo, and tells the class to get on with their work. There is a lot of noise in the classroom, but children appear to be working alongside their chat, colouring in the number relationships. Codie gets pulled up for chewing gum and told to spit it out. She saunters to the front of the room to do this and casually wanders back taking a long time to return to her seat. She hovers by Liza's desk but Liza ignores her. Codie says nothing but looks deflated and returns to her work.

Whilst this example illustrates Codie's disruptive and restless behaviour, it also shows the playfulness and lack of defensiveness and aggression which she referred to in the way she conducted herself in lessons with teachers she didn't like. Codie plainly liked her Maths teacher and it was clear that whilst some behaviour was unacceptable to the teacher, (for example the gum chewing,) other behaviour (like calling out) was condoned. Codie felt that she was accepted by her Maths teacher and yet it was apparent that her behaviour was not acceptable to her peers. In discussing her response towards Codie's behaviour in class her numeracy teacher gave the following explanation:

I don't see the point in stopping them talk and have a bit of fun, so long as they get on with their work. They are a nice group. You will notice Codie, she's quite loud, you can't miss her. I have separated her from her seat-mate so that she gets on with her work.

It's clear that Codie recognised the value in sitting on her own in lessons and wanted to apply herself in lessons in order to achieve well in the subject. However, it is interesting that the following account suggests that Codie perceived herself to have some autonomy in the decision to sit separately, in

expressing her seating arrangement in terms as if she had made the choice herself as opposed to responding to a teacher order:

CB: Why did you sit on your own in Maths?

Codie: Well I like to sit next to Ashleigh and Molly coz I kind of get on with them. Erm I do sit on my own sometimes because I just think its better for me. I mean I do still talk a lot because I would but I think my work gets better done because there's no-one around me to kind of pull the table, and poke you and annoy you so they get you into trouble, its just you on your own focusing on your work and its just better for you.

This is interesting because it reflects her aspiration to do well. Whereas Codie could be seen to react in an angry manner to her parents when they designated her chores, or to pupils or teachers regarding false accusations, in this instance Codie could be seen to gracefully accept her enforced exclusion in view of the greater value of her education.

5.9 Summary: what role mobility?

Codie's is a story of a pupil who has been unable to bridge into a new school, both in terms of her turbulent move to the Ivy, and in relation to her transition to secondary school. In contrast Codie has remained tightly bonded to the memories and friendships she had from her first school in London. As with other case study children it is difficult to separate the traumatic effects of the move from other significant events such as her grandmother's death. It is also difficult to measure how happy Codie was in first school and to what extent her positive recollections of her first school were a function of nostalgia. For example Codie admitted to problems with teachers prior to the move, and she may well have demonstrated some disruptive or distracted behaviour previously. However, it is significant that her attachment to the memories of social friendships she had previously, have held strong over the past four years, whilst the friendships themselves have withered. Such memories might be contextualised against her friendships since moving school, which all remained tenuous or diminished. The impact of being part of a low income family is also evident in relation to the family's options concerning the move in the first instance. Had Codie's family been able to find more affordable accommodation they may well have stayed in

London. Furthermore, due to the expense Codie was forced into giving up her dance lessons, a significant blow with regards her hopes and aspirations for the future, her life outside of school and in affecting her close ties with her old friend Dana. It was apparent that dance represented one of the few aspects of her life in which Codie was able to generate a sense of self worth and value. With regards her school life the precarious nature of social relationships both with peers and teachers can be seen to have had the effect of fostering a sense of anxiety and preoccupation with generating attention (even if it was negative) as a response to feeling overlooked.

Whilst relations may have been strained in areas of her extended family it was clear that they were supportive of her education, in supporting extra tutoring lessons in primary school and taking a keen interest in Codie's school reports. However, it could be said that any benefit to Codie's confidence in her value as a learner may have been undermined by her exclusion from mainstream lessons both in relation to the numeracy booster classes in primary school, and in the European studies lessons at secondary school. However, Codie can be seen to feel excluded even within mainstream lessons with her registration class (which comprise the majority of lessons). Codie has responded to this through behaviour which makes her presence known through mostly off-task as opposed to on-task behaviour. This may well have contributed to her sense of exclusion as the response from peers can be seen to be negative. Yet there is a difference between Codie's attitude in lessons with teachers/ pupils she likes, to those she 'hates'. Whilst she was loud and outspoken in her Maths lessons, there was the absence of aggression and frustration she describes in her European studies room, or in arguing with her Science teacher.

Codie's inability to assimilate into the school culture in Thornton may reflect and compound her dislocation from community life. Even after four years Codie seems to have been able to generate little sense of identification or affiliation with the school, which is encapsulated neatly in her reflection: "I don't belong here, I belong in my own school', in heart and mind, it would appear that she does.

6. Data Analysis: Liza Case Study

6.1 Background

6.1.1 *Liza Profile*

I met Liza when she was in year five in Ivy school. She lived at home with her father and older brother in Thornton and had moved from the North London almost a year previously. Liza claimed free school meals as her father claimed benefits on account of being a full time carer for Liza's Grandfather.

6.1.2 *Previous schooling prior to Ivy*

Ivy was the sixth school Liza had attended during her school career. The most recent school she had attended prior to moving to Ivy was Clayroof a large inner city north London primary with 384 children on roll at time of last Ofsted report (2007). Reflecting the high levels of social deprivation in the catchment two thirds of children received free school meals. The school has above average learning difficulties and disabilities. The number of pupils joining and leaving the school outside normal times is very high. More than seven out of ten children are from an ethnic minority background. The school is part of an intensive support programme lead by the local authority and is housed in a large three storey classic Victorian building.

Liza had fond memories of her last school having described it as "really, really fun." When asked what she liked about it Liza's response suggested that she felt the school was grander and more important than Ivy, and it seemed as if this may have had a knock on effect upon the way she viewed herself as noticed and important there:

Liza: it was quite, a really big building.

CB: Yeah?

Liza: It was way bigger than this one, cause this is like a big bungalow.

CB Really?

Liza: It was... the school that I was in, it was like three storeys, not all one storey.
CB: Yeah. Why, why do you like big schools?
Liza: Cause I was at the very top of the whole school, cause you would look out at the window and everyone were, if you um, shouted hello, then everyone would look up and go hello back.

This response is interesting as the later discussion will highlight the importance which Liza placed on others regard for her. Liza also had positive memories about her teachers:

CB: Um, what about the teachers, did you like them?
Liza: Yeah (nods)
CB : Yeah? How come?
Liza: Because if you were really, really early, they used to give you breakfast.
CB: Really? So you used to go early, did you?
Liza: In the morning. Yeah, very, very early and then they used to give you breakfast in the morning. Then if you did, had breakfast in the morning or you came in really, really late for school, when you didn't have any breakfast at all, they used to get you some toast or something you would really like.

It's clear that Liza interpreted the breakfast provision as evidence that her teachers took an interest in her well-being and cared for her, in making specific effort to give her something that she would like for breakfast. The consistency of the gesture, even if she was late for school, seemed to be important in illustrating to Liza that the kindness (as she understood it) was unconditional and wouldn't be taken away. This was particularly significant for Liza due to the insecurity she felt about her friend's regard for her. When asked how she felt about moving Liza responded:

Sad, because I had most of my friends there.

However, when asked if she kept in touch with her best friend Tasmeena Liza replied:

No, I've got her number but I never phone her because I think she's forgotten my name.

Despite having spent a year in Ivy school Liza still considered most of her friends to be from her old school and yet she didn't feel secure enough to keep in touch with even her closest friend at Clayroof.

6.1.3 Reasons for moving

Liza moved to Ivy in year four following a rather traumatic family break-up. Liza's head teacher at Ivy told me during informal conversation that her mother had left her father for another woman who was a friend of the family. Her father took her departure very badly as did the whole family. Liza moved to the area with her father and brother, and when asked as to the reason why she moved to Ivy, Liza replied:

Because my Dad wanted to move nearer to his parents and our family.

Although this was similar to the response Clive gave, Clive described the decision using the term 'we', suggesting that he felt part of the decision, or at least complicit in it:

We just had to come here to sell our flat so we can see our family more.

However, Liza's response makes clear that the decision was her father's and not something that she was a part of. This suggests Liza may have felt particularly powerless in relation to the decision to move. This was consistent with her father's account who described the rationale behind moving back to the town he grew up in:

One of the reasons I took the kids was because they had changed schools so many times, I wanted to give them some stability and so we moved here. But she doesn't like change. I don't like change either..., I grew up here and I went to the Maple. I like my comfort zone, I like stability and stuff that I know and this seemed the best place.

6.1.4 The trauma of family break-up

It was apparent that the circumstances of the family break-up have had a profound effect upon Liza. She was very sensitive concerning issues around sexuality and prejudice and understandably was defensive when confronted with these topics. I was present during a group work scenario in which Liza's friend Codie responded to Liza's mistake on her worksheet. "You don't do it like that you lesbian". This abrupt offensive language was characteristic of Codie's engagement with others including her friends and yet her tone was warm and friendly. However, Liza reacted in an aggressive tone sounding very agitated:

I'm not a lesbian, besides my mum isn't a lesbian, she's bi-sexual.

Codie then replied "*I'm sorry, I'm sorry*". Liza made no further comment but ignored Codie for the remainder of the lesson.

It may be that her mother's sexuality had an impact upon Liza's gendered identity. Her teachers told me that Liza spent a lot of time trying to get boys' attention and used very sexual language around them. Although I didn't witness Liza using such language, I did notice that she would spend a lot of her time in lessons trying to get the attention of boys.

Whilst Liza may have strived to distinguish herself from her mother, she appeared to agree with the view that you can judge a person by their parent's behaviour in assessing the potential friendship value of another child. This is illustrated in the following extract where Liza discusses the Arts and Crafts week where adults (often parents of children at the school) come in to help with various Art based activities:

Liza: I like Arts Week because you meet people's parents, and you can see what they're like so you can see if there's an adult that comes to the school and their children that don't come to this school. You wouldn't, if their children will come to the school, you can see what it's like.

CB: Oh that's really interesting that you think it's quite important then Liza to meet people's parents, why do you think it's important?

Liza: Just in case, so you can see what their personalities are like and see if their kid doesn't come here then you can tell if the child's going to be like the parent when they do come.

CB: Right.

Liza: If the parent is nice then you'll know that to be friends with the new person and that'll be really nice.

This may in part account for some of the anxiety Liza felt about relationships with others, as shall be discussed later. It also suggests a heightened suspicion of new people (especially peers) and whether they can be trusted.

6.1.5 Liza's first day at school

When asked how she felt coming into Ivy school for the first day Liza replied 'scared' particularly in relation to whether the teachers and pupils would like her. Liza described responding to this fear by reacting in a cool manner towards her buddying partner (the strategy used by the school to place new pupils with a specially selected 'buddy' responsible to show them round and settle in):

The person that I was put to be with, called Zoe, she was really nice to me, but a couple of days later I...I don't... not... kept on ignoring her and I regret ignoring her now, because I'm really good friends with her.

It took a few days before Liza felt she was able to relax and start to build friendships at Ivy, when asked when was the turning point she replied:

When I heard that Bonnie was my old Cousin.

In fact, Bonnie was not a literal cousin, but an honorary one as the daughter of a friend of the family. However, it wasn't so much meeting Bonnie which was important, but rather getting the affirmation from her family that Bonnie was a person who could be trusted:

CB: Were you friends with Bonnie from the beginning then?

Liza: No, a couple of days er... I sat next to her for a couple of days and then I went home and um, my Dad was on the phone to my Uncle John and my Auntie was in the living room and I said, there's this really nice girl called... there's this really nice girl called Bonnie still there.

This suggests an initial mistrust of people in Ivy, which was only alleviated through the social networks Liza was involved with external to the school and

their validation of a potential friend within. Perhaps the culture of school was very different to Liza's home culture, which might account for her suspicious attitude towards the new people she came into contact with in Ivy.

6.2 Out of school interests; home bound activities

6.2.1 Family dinner evenings

Liza did not take part in any formal extra-curricula activities out of school, in fact, it seemed that her primary interests were homebound and family orientated. A particularly special activity for Liza was Wednesday evening when her aunt cooked for Liza and her brother, father and uncle:

Um Wednesdays are definitely my good day because my auntie cooks dinner. I get really excited when it's a Wednesday so I'm very very good.

It's clear that the rather everyday activity of cooking a meal had a big impact on Liza. Maybe family activities were rare for Liza, or perhaps since her mother's departure family time took on an added value and significance. Whatever the reason, this out-of-school activity that she shared with her family was important and clearly influenced her behaviour in school. Hence Liza described Wednesdays as her 'good day' in which she behaved well in lessons as she was so looking forward to the evening. This is a good example of how experiences and expectations from the home territory can have a knock on effect in school territories. Here we can see how Liza's happiness out of school could spill over into school. It exemplifies the importance of home cultures upon schooling culture.

6.2.2 Animal lover

Animals seemed to have had a special place in Liza's life, especially pets. She would happily chat away about her pets and when she did so her tone would become warm. In particular Liza's pets appeared to have had an important significance in her home as she regarded them as something that brought the family together and that they shared:

My whole family, we share pets.

It was apparent that Liza's pets played an intrinsic part in her identity. She felt very strongly about the animals she cared for, to such an extent that she even fell out with her friend Codie on account of their different animal preferences:

I had a recent argument with Codie about um, what we liked differently and I chose cats and she went dogs and hamsters and I chose rats, cats and ham er rats cats and dogs.

Codie couldn't even remember this argument but it clearly had a resounding effect upon Liza. As later discussions will illustrate Liza was sensitive to 'fallings out' with friends, therefore this comment revealed how predominantly Liza's pets figured in her self concept, such that she risked jeopardising her friendships so as to defend her animal loving identity.

It seemed that animals were also significant in providing a bridge into the formal spheres of school in relation to Liza's positive recollections of Art at Ivy. When asked why Art was her favourite subject she responded:

I'm quite good at Art. Because I can draw cats ... and I can draw rats, cos I got two and I can draw dogs. I can draw those little Chihuahuas, those ones with curly hair on their, crimped hair on their ears.

This was one of Liza's most positive descriptions of any lesson, it was also unusual in relation to accounts of lessons, (as later discussion will highlight), not only in relation to the activity, but also in view of the talent or ability that Liza accorded herself.

6.3 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

6.3.1 Tenuous social relationships

At Ivy school Liza came across as extremely concerned as to how she was regarded by other people, especially peers, in the school. She appeared to

place great emphasis upon the importance of being liked, and engaged in an almost daily evaluation of who liked her and who didn't:

I've got some people who like me and some people who don't. Like Clive's OK with me, Rick's okay with me. Helen absolutely hates me, Jade's okay, Emma's okay.

The constantly changing nature of this evaluation resulted in conflicting accounts whereby individual children were at one moment described as friends and in later conversation claimed to dislike her. This suggested that Liza perceived herself within a tenuous and unstable wider friendship group which resulted in insecurity towards her looser friendships:

We argue about different things like who likes who, we had an argument just a couple of weeks ago about, no that was me and Eva. But me and Codie had an argument a couple of weeks ago too.

Whilst Codie had forgotten about this argument it clearly had a lasting impact upon Liza who appeared to have put some thought into analysing why arguments between friends took place:

Sometimes she, she [Codie] she's mean to me so I'm mean back to her then we get in big arguments.

6.3.2 Bridging social relationship

Whilst her wider friendships may have been prone to flux, there appeared to be but one friendship within which Liza felt more secure. This was with her friend Bonnie who, as described earlier, was validated by her family as being a decent person. Liza clearly placed great significance upon this friendship:

Bonnie is my very, very best friend.

In fact, Bonnie was the only pupil attending Ivy that Liza claimed to see out of school. It was apparent she perceived this friendship to be more stable than her relationships with others in the school. When asked generally about the children in her school Liza responded:

They're OK. Some of them I play with but at the moment I only play with Bonnie.

It was apparent that Bonnie represented Liza's only bridge into school. Through her links with family outside of school as well as the out-of-school social contexts, Bonnie was her one constant within a precarious social environment in school. It is interesting the evidence with which Liza felt she could trust Bonnie's friendship in having stated:

Bonnie is really kind to me... and [she] lends us things, I lend Bonnie some money sometimes and then she lends me some money sometimes.

Clearly money would be significant for children from low income families and through the borrowing and lending of money Liza cemented her friendship which clearly had far greater currency than the purely financial.

6.4 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

6.4.1 Insecurities in the classroom

Liza seemed to feel uncomfortable in the formal schooling territories of Ivy. When asked whether she liked school work at Ivy she responded with a straight "No" and when probed as to the reasons for this replied:

Because it's boring, the teachers don't stop talking when they're teaching, they're supposed to shut up past a couple of minutes after talking but sometimes they're really boring.

It was apparent that Liza felt displaced by didactic teaching. The instruction was meaningless for her and she didn't feel able to connect it to her life. She was clearly insecure in her relationships with teachers and referred to a number of teachers and classroom assistants who she didn't like for reasons such as:

She's really angry with like with silly people.

When asked if she constituted a 'silly person' Liza replied:

I'm sort of a silly people but not very much.

This was a word she used to describe herself on several occasions and it's meaning for Liza will be expanded on in later discussion. Being 'silly' clearly had negative associations related to not behaving appropriately in class. Liza gave an example which illustrated both insecurity in her teacher's positive regard and her recognition that it is not appropriate to express such insecurity to a teacher:

When I go 'you're my friend' in a silly sort of way, they go yes Liza.[sarcastic voice] they think I'm being weird.

The following classroom observations illustrate her restlessness in the classroom. When Liza felt she could get positive attention from the teacher she engaged in the lesson and attempted to answer questions, even if she was unsure of the correct answers. When she felt out of the teacher's gaze, which was the majority of the time, she switched off and attempted to distract her seat-mates, as these classroom observation notes make clear:

Teacher asks children to put their pens down and share the words they have been writing as alternatives for 'nice'. Liza waves her hand. Approximately half the class have their hand up. Teacher then starts choosing children to answer. Liza gets chosen third and her word is 'excellent'. Children also have to supply a sentence in using that word and Liza's is "it was an excellent day". After she volunteers her word Liza loses interest. She starts colouring her hair in black (she has very blonde hair) and confers with Kez. He seems vaguely amused. She is distracted for the rest of the lesson and continues colouring in her hair and shows Poppy and Eva. (lower set literacy class)

In another lesson with a different group and teacher Liza acted in the following way:

Teacher asks about the relationship between three and twelve, she is trying to present three as a factor of 12. Presently Liza puts her hand up, but when selected she can't remember the answer. Liza does not seem to be really engaged by the teacher delivery

and keeps turning round to talk to Clive; she is drawing on her arm and shows it to him. Teacher walks over towards Liza's table and continues asking the class questions. Now she is closer, Liza is more keen to answer questions and puts her hand up several times. As teacher moves away Liza loses interest in the activity. She is working with Hope and seems to be conferring a bit, however on her table she is the most behind. At 2:15 Liza distracts the table by initiating a conversation about the documentary she saw last night, the other children on the table eagerly join in (lower set numeracy class).

It maybe that part of this lack of interest was on account of Liza's anxiety over her ability. When asked about which lessons she was good at she responded:

I'm not sure, I'm good at Art but not that good.

Art was the only subject Liza enjoyed. She could not find anything positive to say about any other subjects nor her abilities in them. This anxiety clearly grew when end of term reports were pending:

Liza: I'm kind of scared about my report this year

CB: Why is that?

Liza: As much as I've calmed down since year four, like I used to get two crosses [sanctions] , at least two crosses every day. I'm scared what it's gonna say. You never know what you're doing sometimes. I don't like reports cos you're not allowed to open it and it has to be signed to come back.

Her anxiety in relation to teacher feedback in the form of reports appeared to be associated with her distracted and disruptive classroom behaviour which resulted in a number of sanctions over the year.

However, Liza displayed little interest in the importance of high attainment in lessons. She made no mention of her grades or learning outcomes and the only comment she made on her ability was when asked why she was part of a group removed for separate group work (external to the class) for numeracy to which she responded:

We're the thick group.

However, this opinion did not seem to have a strong bearing upon Liza's positive or negative experience of school. When asked how she was doing at school she responded "*Quite good*". When prompted how this account contrasted with her view of her teachers opinion which she was worried about she was asked:

CB: so you don't think your idea of doing well at school is the same as the school?

Liza: Yeah, it's definitely not the same.

Here it's possible to speculate that the source of Liza's anxiety was caused by the disjuncture between what she considered important at school and what the teachers considered important. Whilst Liza understood 'doing well' in terms of positive relationships with others (something which was highly variable) she understood the school to see it in terms of appropriate classroom behaviour, something which Liza acknowledged she didn't conform to in being 'silly' instead. This lent to a sense of dislocation and lack of meaning which school had, at least in terms of the formal aspects of schooling.

In relation to the informal aspects Liza could be seen to be up and down like a yo-yo. Sometimes this was related to her relationships with others in the school, at other times it related to her emotions out of school spilling into her feelings within Ivy. This instability and dislocation can be seen to have been compounded by her experience of being kept out of the loop. In not being able to see her reports she felt unable to get feedback on her performance in school, presumably without being fed through her father who would open the report and sign it and whose opinion it would seem mattered far more than any authority figures within school.

6.5 Transition to secondary

6.5.1 *Liza's profile at the Maple*

I followed up Liza three years later when she was in year eight at the Maple. Liza was currently placed in the bottom group for Maths and lower middle groups for English and Science. Her prior attainment in terms of key stage two

SATs results were in line with the national target of level four which is the national minimum grade requirement children are expected to achieve. Pupils were also assessed every year at the Maple according to their attainment and attitude towards the subject. Liza's most recent assessments are provided below. Both in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest:

Table 7. Liza's academic performances

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	5C	3*
Maths	4C	3*
Science	4B	3*
IT	4C	3*
Drama	4B	4*
Art	5C	3*
DT	5C	4*
French	4C	3*
Geography	4B	3*
History	5C	3*
Music	4C	3*

To be on line for national targets at the end of the second term in year eight (when these assessments were taken) pupils should be attaining around a level 5B or 5C. These results suggest that Liza was attaining on target with national average for English, Art, DT and History. For the remained seven subjects she was attaining below the national average, despite gaining national attainment targets in the two other core subjects; Science and Maths. Liza's attitude was graded as 'good' only for two subjects; Art and DT, for all other subjects her attitude was rated as 'satisfactory'. This suggests Liza was apathetic towards her work which was inline with Liza's narratives which placed little value on formal learning outcomes.

6.5.2 Experience of transition and comparison with previous move

Liza clearly felt the experience of moving to secondary school with her peers to be a more positive experience than her turbulent moving experiences. When asked what it was like to move to the Hurst she replied 'fun'. In reflecting upon the comparison of moving to the Hurst with previous experiences Liza replied:

Liza: Er yeah, I knew lots of Ivy children

CB: Did that make a difference to when you have moved schools before?

Liza: Made it much better, because I felt more confident.

When probed as to the reasons for her greater confidence in starting at the Hurst Liza revealed:

Because I was with my friends and moving up on my own in other schools was just like oh there's lots of other people here I don't know and what if they don't like me and I set a bad example for the teachers.

This indicated a negative self image whereby Liza's expectation upon meeting new people (both pupils and teachers) was that they would dislike or reject her. It seemed a similar anxiety was present on her first day at the Maple, but was allayed as her friends reassured her:

Liza: Well my first impression was I'm scared, oh dear I don't know anyone, until I saw my friends, but then as I walked into the door of the school I sort of went, who is that, who is that, there was all different teachers welcoming you.

CB: What did that feel like?

Liza: Scary, but I started to relax when I sat with my friends and they were nice to me. I was more happy.

Another factor in the move to the Maple which enabled a more positive assimilation to her new school came in the form of the induction day. Having the opportunity to become more familiar with the physical layout of the school built Liza's confidence and made her feel more empowered to navigate her own way round the school.

When I walked up on taster day I was really nervous and thought wow this is a big school and then on the first day we ever started I felt lots more confident coz I knew how big it was I knew what rooms I was going to be on coz I had a timetable. And when we had a timetable it was just like, oh where's this room? oh we've got that teacher.

So fundamental was the importance of gaining familiarisation with the school for Liza, that she cited it as her one piece of advice to empower new pupils:

Let them explore the school on their own with no teachers surrounding them and saying hi, and instead letting the, pairing the teacher's pair a few kids to hang around with the new people and letting them all explore the school, let the pupil explore the school without anyone around them.

This supports the theories espousing the importance of issues of child autonomy and control with regards the spaces in which they occupy, (Holloway and Valentine, 2000, Solberg, 1990). It illustrates that the experience of 'strangeness' for the new pupil is not just constructed in relation to other people, but also in relation to the physical and symbolic territories in which they find themselves.

6.6 Out of school community links

Since being interviewed at Ivy, Liza appeared to have made more links with the local community and engaged in some out of school social activities:

I go swimming on the weekends and hang out with the local youth club.

Her swimming partner was a friend from her local community who was a year younger and attended a different nearby primary school. She attended the youth club with Kia one of her closest friends in school. This is significant as through having a shared interest out of school Liza's friendship with Kia represented a bridge between school and the out of school youth community (as will be expanded upon later). This suggests that Liza had developed stronger ties with people in her local community external to the family.

This is not to say that family ties had become less important for Liza on the contrary: not only was Liza involved in out-of-school activities targeted for

young people, but her interest in Art had grown and developed and she had clearly found a therapeutic value in using Art as a medium for expression. This may have been fostered through her wider family as it seemed that Art was an activity they enjoyed together. It was also an activity which Liza engaged in with a wider community in attending an Art club with her Father and Grandparents.

There's this after-school club with my Nan and my Grandad and lots of other old people. It's for older people only and my Dad, but I'm only allowed to go coz my Dad goes and my Granddad go. And I express my feelings through painting. If I'm annoyed I use dark colours or if I'm really upset I use dark colours. If I'm happy I use colours like pink and purple.

The emphasis Liza placed upon the word 'allowed' suggests a sense of importance in terms of the exception to the rule that her attendance represents. I inferred from the pride in her tone of voice, that she felt an element of being 'special' as part of the adult Art club. Family activities obviously continued to have great significance for Liza.

6.6.1 The importance of the home-sphere

Despite her involvement in community activities, there was clearly a security which Liza attached to the home sphere. One reason for this related to her pets, which continued to have great significance for Liza:

Liza: I like fat animals. I've got three rats two of them are huge and fat but one of them I got because my other fat rat, 'cheese', he died, both of them. so we got three more.

CB: So what do you like about animals?

Liza: Any animal, coz their all furry, even hairless ones are sweet and cute, like the skin of an animal is all silky it moves with the body.

CB: So you like stroking them?

Liza: Yeah, I like the activity of them, coz with my rats if you just scratch the floor once they come running to your hand smelling around it, licking it.

CB: So is it the affection?

Liza: Yeah, most animals like me, we've got three cats who hate everyone apart from their owner. It just comes next to me and lays on my leg.

Upon visiting her home Liza showed me her rats with pride. They lived in a huge cage in her bedroom dominating most of the room. In delving deeper into

the significance of her pets to Liza, it became clear that there was an element of unconditional acceptance in the bond between Liza and her pets. Liza was secure in the affections of her pets and animals more generally. It is important to consider this in the context of her anxiety as to how she was regarded by people, especially when entering a new school.

Another indicator of the secure and safe space that the home represented to Liza was when asked where her favourite place in the world was. Liza responded 'My bed'. This identified a specific territory within the home sphere. As within her own space in the wider family home, it was significant that she referred to her bed as opposed her home generally. Supporting the work of Solberg (1990) this indicates the importance of autonomy for the child within their home space. The following discussion highlights the importance of this space as a private and personal space in which Liza had devised a creative strategy for managing painful emotions:

Liza: I do most of my stuff on my bed, I sit on it, I talk to my teddies on it.

CB: What are the feelings you have then?

Liza: Well if I'm sad and annoyed then I just talk to my teddies and If I've just fallen out with one of my friends I lay there and cry. I talk to my teddies and they make me feel better. It seems strange but I talk to my teddies for a reason. I talk to them because I'm sad or unhappy. Like yesterday me and Kia were really upset and she was crying her eyes out and I was really sad and I wanted to cry for her instead of let her cry. So last night I was just laying there talking to my teddy until 1 o'clock in the morning.

CB: Would you rather sometimes talk to your teddy than a person?

Liza: Yeah.

CB: Why's that then?

Liza: Coz I love my teddies, I have more teddies than I have friends.

Although Liza had developed stronger social ties outside of her family than two years previously, there was clearly still an element of isolation that she experienced. A happier or less anxious child may well have cited positive associations with their 'favourite place in the world' related to happy or fun associations, yet Liza described a place of refuge from the world, where she felt safe to feel sad, not judged by others and surrounded by her teddies and rats which she perceived to offer unconditional love. The comments here indicate

that despite her earlier remark in having 'lots of friends' at the Hurst, she still felt insecure in her friendships both in the number of friends she had and in the continuity of their positive regard.

It may well be that, in part; Liza's anxiety and unhappiness could be explained in terms of her distanced relationship with her mother. Liza's father and extended family were clearly a significant and stabilising force in her life, yet the issue of her mother's absence still resonated. This became apparent when Liza drew her 'line of happiness' across her schooling life. The wide spectrum of her roller-coaster emotions was clear in that Liza claimed the line would have to carry on over three lines from really really unhappy to really really happy. Whilst 'moving schools' was resigned to the 'really really unhappy' end of the scale, Liza claimed her average day at the Hurst would be towards the 'happy' end. Yet across an average school day she described fluctuating from the bottom to the top end depending how things were with her friends and her experience in lessons. In speculating of the perfect schooling scenario Liza claimed:

Like to make it totally perfect would be my mum being a teacher here and being able to see my mum more, because don't get to see my mum at all. She even lives closer, she lives in Meadowbury but she still doesn't come to see me. I'm about here when I don't see my mum [points to really really unhappy end of the scale].

6.7 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

6.7.1 Trusting/ precarious social ties

Liza's concern for the way people regard her appeared to have grown over the last couple of years. She was very aware of social hierarchies and explained in detail, the complex and changing social dynamics whereby friends align with each other, fall out and then reformed. When asked who her friends were she replied:

Liza: Kia, Kathy, Liam, Jane, Cleo, Annie. I have lots and lots of friends. But I don't hang around with Annie outside of the classroom because otherwise Kia gets annoyed with me, coz Kia does not like Annie and the other day Codie took the mick out of Kia's little brother. No one

likes Codie, not at the Coz everyone's friends with Kia and no ones friends with Codie, coz Kia's in the middle and Codie's out here.

CB: Who else is in the middle?

Liza: Like all the popular and the geeks are in the middle. I like calling them geeks. Like there's a group of people and there's Codie on her own, and at the moment Dina.

As revealed from her comments above there were some inconsistencies with Liza's claims over her confidence in friendships, whilst she earlier claimed more teddies than friends, at other times she claimed lots of friends. This supports the above description of the tenuous nature of such friendships. However within the wider friendship group, there is one significant friendship in Kia:

Liza: Coz she's really nice. Like one of my best friends. I love her, she gives me hugs and she's always nice to me, she hangs round with me and I think she's my only friend.

CB: I though you said you had lots of friends?

Liza: I do but she's my only friend in my tutor?

Liza clearly felt more secure in this friendship than in the others she listed above. Not only did Kia make visual demonstrations of affection, but in being in Liza's tutor group, as well as her Liza's lower maths set, they spent almost all lessons together. Tutor friends were those with which Liza spent most lessons with. As with Clive, friendships external to the tutor group were not as strong as those within the tutor group. This suggests that because class-time was such an integral part of schooling, friendships outside of the classroom had far less significance on pupil's schooling lives.

However, although it seemed important to share classes, it was also important for Liza to continue friendships out of school. Liza told me that "Kia comes round my house". This reveals that, as with Bonnie, there was a school/home link between Liza's best friends in school. In fact Bonnie didn't feature at all in Liza's discussions of her current friendships, Liza's father told me the two had had a big falling out shortly after Liza moved up to the Maple. Liza told me:

I sometimes see her Lunchtime, break-time, after school, we say hello sometimes that's all.

When talking about Bonnie Liza's head dropped and the conversation turned to the question of trust. When asked if she trusted any of her friends in school she replied:

No. only my parents, well mostly Dad.

Indeed it was questionable as to what faith Liza might have had in her friendship with Kia, as from observation Kia wasn't overly ready to defend Liza in her absence. During an RE lesson when Liza was called out of the room, one pupil from a group of four boys called over "*Kia, do you like Liza?*" to which her reply was a hesitant "*sort of*". This is interesting as it suggested that Liza was unpopular with some of the boys in her class, and that Kia was also unsure as to what affect their friendship might have upon her position in the social hierarchy.

The precariousness of Liza's social ties and the impact they had upon Liza's happiness and wellbeing was endorsed by her father in discussion with Liza about her previous fall out with Bonnie and a separate fall out with Kia:

They [Bonnie and Liza] fell out a while ago now, but even before then she's always been falling out with friends that's nothing new. It's all drama, drama, drama. To be honest I tend to lose track of it now, because of all the drama drama drama, you get emotionally involved with whatever argument she's having with whoever and it goes up and down and up and down and I cant do it. I'm too old! So sometimes I lose track with who she's friends with and who she's fallen out with... it's all a bit complicated because they [Liza and Kia] all fall out, we had big upsets the other day because we thought someone had stolen Jane away. I had to explain friends are not like boyfriends It's getting a bit too much like that.

This account reveals that Liza's preoccupation with social relationships was not just confined to the school sphere, but also permeated the home sphere and had emotional impact upon her father too. This suggests that relationships with friends played an integral part in Liza's life in which case it is little wonder that she invested so heavily in them.

6.7.2 Negotiating playground territories

Unlike Clive, Liza hadn't negotiated access to a particular peer territory in the informal school sphere, she navigated the playground in an itinerant manner wandering from group to group, consolidating friendships:

CB: What do you do at break-times, where do you go? Where do you hang out?

Liza: Well at break-times I go and get a snack from the snack shack and then order my lunch there and then at lunch-time me and Kia just link arms and wander round the school, go to the tutor, eat lunch and then go for a walk.

CB: So what do you do when you wander round?

Liza: Just see different people, hug different people, walk round with lots of different people.

Emotionally and physically Liza leaned on her friend Kia in her wanderings through the playground. This was supported in playground observation where Liza was always to be found with her friend Kia to whom she clung like a safety jacket of a person lost at sea. This lack of a specific area or site with which to orientate reflected the transitory nature of Liza's friendships. Liza obviously felt she had to invest in a wide range of different loose friendships such as a butterfly might flit between flowerbeds. This is perhaps unsurprising as noted above friendships might erupt at any moment and therefore it was important to have a safety net of other friendships to fall back on. However, despite these loose social ties it didn't appear as if Liza generated any stable sense of belonging from any of these social groups. Whilst moving in and out of many groups of people it seemed that Liza didn't actually belong to any specific group, which may have been attributable to the anxiety she felt in relation to her school based social ties.

It is interesting that when asked about her favourite place in school, again Liza referred to a 'the pottery room' in which she visited alone in order to attend to dark feelings:

Liza: If I'm annoyed with someone I can just go in there and look round at other people's Art... if I go in there I can, and they've, if it's dark paint on a page I look at that and sort of feel, say to myself, that's dark colours, that makes me feel better because they feel, they've expressed and they're dark.

CB: So that makes you feel less alone in your feelings?

Liza: Yes.

These remarks about the value of Art, as with the comments made above about her Art club, show that Liza had a well developed sensibility in relation to Art. There was a sophisticated understanding of the role Art can play in expressing feelings. It is clear that she had found a resource in Art and yet unfortunately this has been in spite of as opposed to fostered through her in-class experience of Art lessons in the school as the following discussion reveals.

6.8 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

6.8.1 Anxiety about lessons

It was interesting and quite sad that although Liza had fostered her interest in Art, this did not translate to enjoying Art lessons. It was unfortunate that Liza's perceptions of her teacher and teacher's responses to her classroom behaviour tainted her enjoyment of the lesson:

Liza: In Art we can't make the other person laugh, because if the other person laughs you both get in trouble that's why I don't like the lesson that I'm meant to be in now, I'm in Art and it's scary because if you just like talk one word, or giggle, she shouts.

CB: See that quite surprises me because one of the things you really seemed to like when I last spoke to you was Art?

Liza: I love Art, I don't think I'm good at it but I just don't like the teacher. My Dad always says to me, don't think about the teacher just get on with the work, but it's hard when they're talking, constantly telling you off.

Paradoxically teacher assessments rated Liza's attitude in Art as good- one of only two subjects rated as such. Despite this Liza had continued to feel anxious about how her teachers regarded her and as a result felt quite negatively about most subjects not only Art. When asked to be specific about the lessons she didn't like Liza replied:

Liza: Lots. I don't like science, geography history, IT, PSE, French, Art

CB: Why don't you like those?

Liza: Coz the teachers are annoying and they don't like you and all the lessons are boring twenty four seven.

CB: Why don't you think the teachers like you?

Liza: Coz they scowl at you all the time.

CB: Why do you think they are scowling at you?

Liza: Coz I'm just sitting there doing my work and then suddenly you look over to the side and Miss is there scowling at you and frowning at you. I think it's coz I never get anything right.

As at Ivy, Liza clearly felt uncomfortable in the formal classroom environment and to a certain extent victimised by her teachers. She attributed this to a lack of ability in her work. However, it did not seem as if lessons were very meaningful for Liza, she described them as 'boring'. Liza also revealed that she felt her orientation to lessons was not well regarded by teachers. Liza's accounts of her perceived inabilities in lessons and the disregard of her teachers can be seen to demonstrate a sense of low self worth. It is notable that her anxieties of teachers are not borne out by teacher assessments. Whilst only two teacher's rate Liza's attitude as good, in no instance did teachers attribute to her a poor or unacceptable attitude to work. Rather Liza was most often rated as 'satisfactory'. This suggests perhaps Liza is perceived neither to stand out on account of good or bad orientations to work and consequential formal assessments. In that Liza's primary motive in school is attention seeking, it follows that Liza might have little interest in her work, and find the lack of interest by teachers as a negative testimony to her worth.

Despite her anxiety within the classroom there appeared to have been some improvement in Liza's perception as to her behaviour in class and the reception this has had from teachers. To a certain extent, therefore, it seemed as if time was an important factor in acclimatising to the classroom environment. It also suggested that moving schools even at normal leaving and joining ages had an unsettling affect upon Liza's behaviour following the move:

Liza: Well my Geography teacher doesn't like me, but I think she likes me more because at the beginning of the year I used to be really really silly didn't I? and like, she didn't like me.

CB: So what's changed in you? do you think there's been a change in you, or is it just her?

Liza: I think I know more.

CB: Oh right so that means she likes you more?

Liza: (Nods) I've been listening.

It was apparent that a key factor which appeared to affect Liza's confidence in lessons was whether her friends were present. She told me a particularly negative experience she had recently during sports day held in the games lesson:

Liza: At sports day I came last.

CB: So you don't like sports?

Liza: I love sports, but I don't like sports days, coz today we had to do for sports day what we usually have to do and I had to do javelin for sports day, and I came very last. I got four flat out, four belly flops.

CB: So how did that make you feel?

Liza: Sad. I love sports but I don't like it when I lose. Coz everyone takes the micky out of me, you said you were good at this, but you still lost. Like I love javelin and the usual lesson I get the furthest, not today.

CB: So what was different today then?

Liza: The fact that we had to do it separately and we didn't have our friends to cheer us on.

I was present for this lesson and it was interesting that Liza's best friend Kia was in this lesson and yet it didn't seem as if either of them were very interested in the activity:

During the teacher explanation as to how to hold the javelin Liza fiddles with the top, she gets told off for doing so as they have been asked not to touch. Each pupil takes their turn to throw the javelin and whilst the other child take theirs most of the other children watch. However, Liza is chatting to Kia and trying to get her attention, although Kia seems more interested in talking to two boys and ignores Liza's efforts to get her attention. Two other girls walk over they are not in games kit. Liza runs over to one and hugs her. Kia then comes over to the girls and they start to chat about smoking. Kia and Liza have to be interrupted from their conversation to take their turn with the javelin, neither seems to put much effort in and I notice that whilst Liza takes her turn Kia is not watching but joking and laughing with the boys. Liza looks self conscious and throws without much focus. It's another 'no throw' as it didn't penetrate the ground.

This lesson observation was a typical example of Liza's distracted behaviour during lessons. She was clearly more interested in her friend's responses to her behaviour than her teachers. Even though Liza was interested in games, the social aspect took much higher priority even for such an important event as a sports day. In hindsight, Liza obviously was upset about her poor performance, but as this lesson reveals, her performance in lessons took lower priority than positive affirmation from her peers. Although, this may well be a product of both anxiety over her performance in lessons and anxiety in maintaining friendships.

6.8.2 The importance of being silly

This issue of 'silliness' was present even in Ivy school, when Liza claimed that her teachers got angry with 'silly' people such as herself. Again it had associations with inappropriate classroom behaviour. I was interested as to whether Liza still felt she was a silly person and how she felt this affected her classroom experience. The following discussion illustrates an association between silliness and off-task social discussion combined with a lack of focus upon work:

- CB:** Do you still think that you are a silly person?
- Liza:** Yes.
- CB:** What does that mean then? What's a silly person?
- Liza:** When you don't concentrate on your work and you make the friends that are next to you laugh, it usually works.
- CB:** And is that a good thing to be or bad?
- Liza:** Sometimes, only in some lessons, Maths.
- CB:** Why is it a good thing in those lessons?
- Liza:** Coz if you're silly in those lessons, the teacher doesn't like it but they don't mind, they just like tell you to get on with your work, you can still make your friends laugh, but they like want you to get on with your work at the same time.

It would appear that in maths Liza perceived her teacher to be more lenient in their tolerance of pupil to pupil conversation and did not feel that this necessarily hindered working. It is interesting that Liza felt that her classroom behaviour was more accepted by teachers in these lessons than in others. Liza

was in the lower set for maths in which the pace of lessons was slower, there was a greater amount of pupil to pupil off task conversation and class sizes were small and so more teacher- pupil contact. Having observed two maths lessons, there was evidently a good atmosphere in the class amongst pupils and between pupils and their teacher Miss Bright. More vocal children (of which there were a few) often called out to the teacher and she would frequently indulge a joke and even had some off-task conversations with individuals, the group was small so she could get round to each child easily. The pupils seemed to have a respect for her, and when it did get a bit rowdy as happened occasionally, pupils responded to her raised voice and cross tone. As a default mode she was friendly, cheerful and respectful of her class. It was notable that Liza behaved in a similar way in her maths class compared to her other classes, but she was quieter in contrast to the greater number of 'characters' who were louder and more vocal than her:

Codie gets told off for the third time for and told to put her gum in the bin, she takes a long time to do this and in the meantime Tyson is misbehaving and gets sent out. Liza and her seat-mates Kia and another girl work quietly occasionally chatting to each other. This continues whilst the teacher is out the room, whilst other pupils chat and mess around in a boisterous way. Codie calls out to them, "shut up so we can hear Tyson getting told off!" Liza turns to her and objects "Codie you're such a low-life wanting to listen to someone being told off. She says nothing. I'm taken aback Liza hasn't been so loud and aggressive all lesson. I assume it's a product of the Codie/ Kia fall out.

It is perhaps unsurprising that Liza much preferred her lower set lessons Maths to other lessons:

CB: So you prefer the lessons where you're mixed up tutor groups?

Liza: Like in different tutors. I do like mixed tutors coz it's more happy and everything, like in year 7 you all stay year 7's but there's blue red, yellow and green I'm in green and we always mix with yellow red and blue, so there's like the lowest group with the lowest group of blues and that.

CB: What lessons is that for?

Liza: Maths... because most people in the tutor don't muck around and have fun and with the teachers. Like when we're with mixed like in maths, Ronan and Lee like they're always like

silly but they get on with their work at the same time, and they're in blue and I really like them coz they're good friends as well.

This description illustrates that Liza's lower set classes were the only lessons in which she felt a sense of belonging within the classroom environment, that her classroom demeanour was appropriate and understood by the teacher. Miss Bright was only the teacher Liza trusted in the school with whom she would feel confident to turn to if she had a problem with her work. Conversation with Miss Bright suggested that Liza's trust was well founded, her teacher felt she had a good understanding of Liza and her needs and was supportive:

She needs a lot of support, a lot of TLC. I don't think she has very high self confidence. She sometimes plays up but she mostly tries quite hard. She responds well to praise and encouragement, she does like to be noticed.

This perspective was endorsed by Liza's father who underpinned the importance of Liza's relationship with teachers upon her experience of and behaviour in lessons:

There were a few problems, we talked about the problems with her tutor, in terms of getting on with people and getting on with teachers. She tends to, I mean I was like this myself, if you get on with someone you excel, and if they give you negative feedback, it just really knocks you and she's had the same sort of thing. Teachers which she gets on with she gets on in the subjects and she's changed teachers and done better if she likes the teacher or done worse because she doesn't. There's definitely a correlation with it. I mean if someone came to me and said I'd like her to move up because she's done really well and then Liza said she didn't like the teacher I'd say no because it has that much of an effect.

However, in my most recent conversation with Liza and her father, six months after my observations and interview with Liza in the Maple, it appeared that there had been a shift in Liza's attitude towards Art, whereby for the first time since being in secondary school Liza had started to feel positive about her Art lessons. Liza attributed this to a sudden interest which her teacher had taken in her:

Liza: She [Art teacher] never paid any attention to me but then when we started to do mono-print then she saw that I quite took a liking to it. As soon as she said mono and pop Art I

went (bulges eye) I'll listen to you now Miss, coz I was listening before but then I sort of lost track because she would never come over when you put your hand up she would just sit there and ignore you and do her painting.

Dad: Coz like I've watched programs on pop Art, Andy Warhol, just watching things on the art channel so she knows about these things already and we have explored them in Art club and so she's gone in and because she can then talk about it, a teacher has shown an interest and she's reciprocated and it's amazing what a knock on effect it has.

This suggests that in order for Liza's community social networks to be activated and as such mobilise capital (with regards the cultural capital resource of Liza's understanding of Mono-print and pop-Art) there had to be the endorsement of her teacher. And yet it was surprising what a significant impact this shift has had for Liza. Her Dad described the impact it has had upon her last report:

CB: How would you say Liza was doing at school now?

Dad: She's chuffed with herself at the moment coz she knows I'm going to say she's done really well. It was a bit hit and miss in the first year but she's had a big improvement on her last report. Attitude in Art and everything her marks have gone up, all sorts.

CB: Do you talk about reports together then?

Dad: Yeah oh yeah (laughs) It's quite a big deal . I mean I've given her a hard time in the past when it hasn't been good. What did you get this time?

Liza: He doesn't let it go. £15 for my dress and £5 for body shop.

Dad: Which is quite a treat for us coz we don't have a lot of money.

So it would seem that when she felt accepted and understood within the classroom context (something which only happened in the minority of lessons). Liza felt able to apply herself to her work. In practice this has meant that so long as Liza could talk and laugh with her friends and generate positive attention of her teacher she will feel secure enough to focus upon her work. The size of the class and pace of lower set lessons was conducive to this behaviour. Whilst formal learning outcomes were clearly valued at home, achievement is inseparable from endorsement from teachers. Whilst recent shifts represent a positive potential for Liza it is possible to speculate that her most recent change of attitude might not be sustained, because it is dependent upon her relationship with teachers. This suggests that Liza might struggle to adapt to the formal school territories of the Maple without significantly changing her

classroom persona. It seems this is unlikely being that the price of social acceptance comes at the expense of learning outcomes within Liza's priorities.

6.9 Summary: what role mobility?

As with Clive, in the case of Liza it is possible to understand a person who struggles to bridge across the informal and formal school territories. Liza's priority is her social relationships, which are rooted in insecurity that they will be lasting, as such she feels she must constantly invest and remake friendships, aware that, as in the case of her friend Codie and Bonnie and before that Tasmeena, they may be withdrawn at any moment. Therefore, Liza spreads her social net wide whilst at the same time acknowledging one stronger bond at a time (in the case of Bonnie at Ivy and Kia at the Maple). These have been friendships which bridge between the informal school territories and the home and this is important in order that they be validated by her family with whom Liza is very close. However, no such strong friendship has been enduring across the context of a change of school, and Liza is unable to trust in her friends. In the three years that Liza has been settled in the local area it is possible to see that she has forged bonds with her local community, aided by her family network as well as her close school friends. However, there is a tension between the community relationships and the formal relations of the school. The friendships Liza enjoys do not enable bridging into the classroom.

Liza seeks approval, from her teachers as well as friends and yet only feels she can achieve this if she does well. In order to forge a place within the formal territories of school Liza feels she must be consistent and yet she cannot commit to her school work in part due to anxiety in her abilities in lessons and uncertainty in how she is regarded by her teacher. However, achievement in lessons comes secondary to the peer group acceptance she struggles to maintain. She is therefore distracted from learning outcomes in her focus upon 'being silly' in order to generate positive regard of her friends. This translates even in the subjects which Liza enjoys and shows promise in such as sports and Art. Even in these subjects she likes it can be seen that interest and aptitude are not enough to bridge into the classroom, Liza's artistic sensibilities

and sporting talent have been, at least until recently, unable to find expression within the class because she deems her classroom demeanour to be inappropriate. As a result Liza does not feel part of most lessons instead they are meaningless and 'boring'. The exception is her lower set classes, particularly Maths which is the only instance where Liza's classroom persona as a 'silly' person is acceptable.

Like Clive Liza is a 'loner' in school but whilst Clive disappears to the pond, Liza disappears to the pottery room, outside of the gaze of her teachers and peers. Here she struggles with her 'dark' feelings which balance against the high times when all is well with her friends and Liza is happy (for a while). Yet such positive moments are hard to draw security from because like her lifestyle they are transient and fleeting, a rollercoaster of emotions resulting in an underlying anxiety, uneasiness and fear.

7. Helen Case Study

7.1.1 Background

7.1.1 Helen profile

I met Helen during year six at Ivy school. She had moved to Ivy from Hollybush school in the middle of year five. Helen is the only pupil of the cohort to have experienced a change of school without changing area and moving house. During her education at Ivy school, Helen lived at home with both parents. The staff at Ivy suspected the family to be eligible for FSM but they did not claim them and Helen brought a packed lunch. Such judgments were made in reference to requests for money for school trips and Helen's uniform which had holes in it and did not appear to have been replaced since she first joined the school.

7.1.2 Reasons for moving

Helen moved from Hollybush school to Ivy as she wasn't happy at her previous school. A year later it was apparent that Helen still felt very negatively about her past experiences at Hollybush. This caused her to be frequently absent from school as she was clearly very unhappy there:

Didn't really like Hollybush, children were horrible and... yeah, to me. Um, and, um, the teachers kept shouting at me all the time, for no reason that much... I wanted to leave cos I didn't really go to school that much cos the people.

It was apparent that at the root of Helen's problems at Hollybush were her unstable relationships with friends which resulted in frequent falling out:

Helen: Some of them kept changing our....our, um, yeah my best friend, and, she was like I don't like you and all, kept going on... We fell out.

CB: What about?

Helen: Nothing really.

CB: So you were friends as well at times?

Helen: Yeah.

Whilst such ups and downs with friends could be argued to be a common feature of friendships between girls at schools, (George, 2007) this obviously had a dramatic effect in terms of causing Helen to miss school. However, it is debatable what role her mother had in initiating the move as from Helen's account she appeared to have negative associations with Hollybush:

My mum thought it was horrible [at Hollybush] as well so that's why she moved me here [to Ivy] cos she thought it was more nice cos she's been here before.. when she was little.

7.1.3 Feelings preceding the move

In contrast to the other case study children, Helen felt empowered by her decision to join Ivy school and her negative associations from the last school prompted her to feel she was leaving for something better. As such Helen felt 'kinda happy' before joining Ivy. This was in part enabled through prior friendships with pupils attending Ivy:

Helen: When they were still here I knew Samantha. And I knew Kirsten. My fr...well, Clara I met when I was kinda little, about fiveish or sixish or seven.

CB: How did you know them?

Helen: Samantha I met at a pub [with their parents] and we became friends. And then I met Kirsten I dunno how I met her, I can't remember, my mum, oh yeah, my mum and her mum are fr...friends and then me and her met, each other.

Helen had lived her whole life in Thornton, as had her parents before her, as such Helen had the advantage of prior relationships with children at her new school forged through local community links. However, Helen still held some trepidation about her new school and had some residual anxiety associated with school life at Hollybush:

My mum came in but I was still at Hollybush and my mum came in here to ask if, get some papers and that. Filled 'em in, I think she took 'em back, or, I went there but then I felt sick and so, so I came in the, next day.

7.1.4 First day at Ivy

Helen's first day was marked by relief at leaving her last school, however understandably she was still a bit hesitant with regards to how the pupils and teachers at Ivy would receive her, especially in view of her tatty uniform. As such Helen decided a good strategy upon first joining the school would be to keep a low profile:

CB: So tell me how you felt on your first day at Ivy?

Helen: Happy. A bit shy though.

CB: Tell me what happened right from getting up that morning, tell me the story of you coming in on your first day?

Helen: Well, I woke up and I, I got changed cos I had clothes and, um... Yeah, I like it. but I had like a logo on but I haven't got one now. And, um, cos my sleeves were all wrecked and that so I was nervous. Yeah, and then, um, I went in. The teacher that was teaching us was called Miss Bunting. So I went into my new class and she was there and then I just like got on with my work.

Whilst Helen didn't make any attempt to interact with other children in her class, there was some comfort at break time when she met up with her friend Kirsten in the year above and 'played' with her. However, Helen kept up her guard a bit longer with respect to her class peers and her teacher:

CB: Did you make friends with Kirsten straight away?

Helen: Yeah.

CB: And everyone else in your class?

Helen: A bit too long.

Helen recognised her guardedness about others as it took her a while to form an opinion on the school, however when she did form her opinion she found that it differed from her expectations:

CB: What most surprised you about Ivy, when you came here from Hollybush?

Helen: I thought the teachers were nice and some children were nice.

Whilst Helen was very relieved that the teachers were 'really nice' to her at Ivy, it was clear that the most significant contrast to her last school was that she felt able to be included in the school. This sense of inclusion was clearly the most important difference to Helen:

CB: Do you prefer being at Ivy or Hollybush

Helen: Ivy

CB: What are the reasons for that?

Helen: Well the children are here, they play with me and the children there don't really bother.

CB: So the most significant difference was the children?

Helen: Yeah.

So despite the different circumstances of Helen's turbulent move, in contrast to other case study children, similarly the social aspect of school was considered to be the single most important aspect of Helen's schooling experience.

7.2 Out of school interests

Whilst Helen didn't take part in any formal out of school clubs, centres or activities, she was quite social with other children in informal settings. One particular territory which is popular with Helen and her out of school friends was 'the Brook', this was a secluded space set away from any public areas and acted as a meeting ground for children from the top years of local primary schools and the local secondary school, the Maple:

Helen: [Connor] Tries to annoy me all the time but I see him down the brook sometimes, hangs around with him there.

CB: Where's that?

Helen: It's near here. Um, it's near [Thornton] Swimming Pool in, behind, near the pub.

CB: What is it?

Helen: Just somewhere to hang out.

CB: Like a recreation centre?

Helen: No, just a place.

The head teacher and Helen's form teacher told me that they had been quite concerned that she was falling in with this older crowd out of school who were known for displaying some anti social behaviour:

In terms of her social group she's quite old for her age, she tends to mix with some of the children from the year above and from secondary school, which have been known to be a bit unruly smoking and drinking (Headteacher at Ivy).

Helen had a boyfriend who was part of this social group and knew a number of other children who form part of the 'brook' crowd, but that she didn't know what school they attended, suggesting that the connections between members of the crowd were somewhat loose. There also appeared to be links between the crowd that went to the 'brook' and a wider intergenerational group which socialised at the local pub, which is nearby to the 'brook'. Although due to their age, it would seem that to socialise at the pub, Helen and her peers must have been accompanied by their parents. Helen spoke with pride when she referred to the pub, which suggested there was some kudos associated with liaising in this adult environment:

Helen: Well, I meet Kit round the pub. I don't really meet Tony. I don't know his dad. But, I see Kit.

CB: Who do you go there with?

Helen: My Mum, my Dad and sometimes my sister.

CB: Is that a weekend or an evening thing?

Helen: Evening and a weekend.

CB: Is that a place where you hang out with other young people as well?

Helen: Yeah. Yeah.

These community based social groups, both of the pub and the brook were clearly important for Helen as they connected her to her local area, her family and represented a looser form of bridging group, from her friendship groups in school which could be quite turbulent (as will be discussed in the next section).

7.3 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

7.3.1 Friends in school

Social relations were clearly very important for Helen, they were the reason she left her last school and the most important thing about going to school in Ivy. When asked the best thing about Ivy school she replied:

Well, I like playing with my friends the most though.

However, when asked about who were her friends in Ivy, it would appear that Helen's group of friends were quite turbulent similar to the way she described in her last school, but unlike in Hollybush, Helen was not at the centre of the discordance:

Well, we've had a fall out. Well, those two have, the one in the phone duty is called Kirsten, the one with the glasses and Lorna Pike. Um, those 2 had a fall out and... And, um, they've had a fall out and, um, I like both of 'em really. But those 2 won't get together cos Kirsten said, no I don't wanna be her friend anymore.

As well as Lorna and Kirsten there was also Connor, Lorna's boyfriend also in the same class as Helen and her friends, who despite being a bit 'annoying' in 'trying to nick' her pencil case constituted a friend to Helen. When asked why they were friends Helen replied:

Helen: Um, Connor's really funny and I always hang around with him. Lorna, she's my best friend, so is Kirsten cos, um, I sleep round Lorna's house.

CB: Do you see Kirsten out of school?

Helen: Yeah, she lives just up the road from me.

7.3.2 Friends' involvement in home life

It was apparent that the home-school link with regards Helen's friends was an important factor in validating the friendship. In the statement above Helen explains that she understood Lorna to be a best friend as she stays over at her house. This verification of friendship was also apparent in Helen's previous friendships with Mia and Tania, both in her class at Ivy. The importance of accepting friends' home-life can be contextualised against Helen's negative

experiences with these previous friendships. At the beginning of the school year Helen told me her best friends were Tania and Mia. Both these friendships were cemented through out of school contact. However, it appeared that both friendships deteriorated on account of Mia's upsetting remarks about Helen's home:

CB: Tell me about your previous best friends Mia and Tania.

Helen: Tania? I was friends with her, just me and her before and I used to, er, go round her house for dinner.

CB: How long were you friends for?

Helen: Bout a month. Well, about two months or three.

CB: And Mia?

Helen: Mia? Well, she slept round my house once and then w...after, when it was school, she was like being horrible and that about my house.

These upsetting remarks may have also had an impact upon her friendship with Tania, Helen observed that for no reason Tania stopped being friendly to her and instead caused friction in which she attempted to draw the teacher into:

CB: Are you still friendly with Tania?

Helen: No, cos sometimes goes and tells on me for something I don't do.

CB: For no reason?

Helen: Yeah, and it's really annoying. She like comes and bothers me and all that, then she tells of the teacher that she, that I bother her.

This experience suggests that whilst spending time together with friends at each others house was an important aspect in constituting friendship, this did not guarantee the duration of the friendship.

7.4 Formal aspects of schooling

7.4.1 Displaced in class

It was notable that Tania's attempts to stir trouble between Helen and the class teacher may have tapped into Helen's sense of displacement in class. Helen's set position in the classroom was in the front row, which appeared to have been a strategic position as her class teacher Mrs Duthie told me:

Those who tend to be distracted I place at the front of the class, where I can keep my eye on them.

As such Helen's physical placement in the classroom suggested that the micro level structuring of her position in class created a slightly uneasy point of reference. This discomfort was embodied through Helen's performance in which she demonstrated erratic behaviour which switched between two poles of engagement and disengagement. On the one hand she demonstrated lively and sometimes mischievous behaviour. This involved at times loud outbursts during class of excited on task commentary. Such outbursts expressed enthusiasm of the topic as opposed to wilful disruption, which was evident through the outbursts of a couple of other boys in the class. Helen also demonstrated a tendency to speak out during teacher instruction. On the other hand, when Helen was quieter this was generally because she was disengaged and distracted from the activity. Such distraction manifested in an anxious almost wistful discomfort in which she could be seen to withdrawn from the lesson. This swing from loud and outspoken to withdrawn is illustrated in the following RE lesson excerpt:

Mrs Duthie shows the class a video of a Muslim wedding, and a couple of children including Helen call out a couple of times remarking on the dress and music which they find funny. After it has finished the teacher explains the activity in which they are discussing prayer. Helen is messing around with her pencil case, squabbling with Ronan. Mrs Duthie tells her off and Helen responds angrily 'tell him to get off'. The teacher tells them sharply to stop "Helen, Ronan, you have both already got one warning today, do you want another?" Helen responds "No" and crosses her arms in an affronted manner. The teacher continues the discussion about prayer from a Muslim and Christian perspective. Helen just sits with her arms folded and looks on but not engaging either. The noise level is a lot quieter than the previous lesson and children listen to each other's comments. However, Helen zones out and gazes at the board where the rewards and warnings are marked, she counts on her fingers; is she interested in her own points? Mrs Duthie has been interrupted several times by a pupil shouting out. He gets a warning and then eventually gets a cross. The conversation continues and

the teacher asks Connor what he thinks and he isn't sure, she then asks Helen what she thinks about it all and she answers "I dunno". She looks down and seems disinterested.

However, at other times Helen could be seen to engage thoughtfully in the lesson and make a valid contribution, even if she did lack some confidence in the value of her claims. This is illustrated in the PSE lesson which picked up on the previous issue of prayer raised during the RE lesson from the day before:

The topic concerns morality and the activity requires pupils to list the reasons for Mrs Duthie "why do people pray?" This is a whole class activity and the teacher asks for volunteers to the question to raise their hands. She then lists the reasons that children give her on the board. Each answer given prompts a response from the rest of the class and they engage into a dialogue. Meanwhile Ronan is scraping a ruler across the table. Mrs Duthie ignores it at first and then tells him to stop. Helen and Connor call out in response to this topic and the teacher engages this discussion in facilitating a debate between Helen and Connor as to whether a person would pray if they had murdered someone. Helen thinks they would and Connor thinks they wouldn't. At this point Mrs Duthie intervenes and asks the class "Now just think about in your head, is it likely that a person would pray if they had murdered someone?" Although the question is posed so as to be open, her tone suggests that there is a correct and incorrect answer. A number of children mumbled 'No' but Helen maintains she thinks they would and the teacher asks her why in a surprised voice. (It is interesting that she didn't ask any of the children who answered No to qualify their answers.) Helen replies 'maybe if they did it accidentally and didn't mean to do it'. Mrs Duthie responded 'OK so maybe if they didn't intend to do it, they may want to pray?' Helen then looks a bit unsure and replies 'I dunno' (possibly she picks up that this answer displeases the teacher) The topic is dropped as Mikey and Brynn call out that the window is leaking.

In this example Helen has thoughtfully engaged in the topic of the lesson and defended her opinions even when they were controversial. However, it was apparent that when pressed she lost confidence and sought to withdraw from the discussion. However, this may have been affected by the teacher's apparent value judgment in the topic.

The role of the sanction system in validating classroom membership

It may have been that Helen's classroom behaviour was mediated by the sanctions system of warnings and crosses. As could be illustrated above Helen was anxious about her tendency to acquire sanctions, which she considered to be one of the most negative aspects of schooling:

- CB:** Is there anything you don't like about school?
- Helen:** Warnings and crosses.
- CB:** Yeah. Does it bother you getting them?
- Helen:** Well, three crosses worries me.
- CB:** Really? So why is it that three bother you but not one or two, or warnings?
- Helen:** Well, I just don't like the letters sending home to my mum. She gets annoyed.
- CB:** Why do you get them then?
- Helen:** If you have, you get, um, a warning or a straight cross for not doing homework or if you're being naughty if you're breaking one of the school rules.
- CB:** So why would you get them then? What do you think you do to get them?
- Helen:** Well last time it was mostly homework.
- CB:** Why weren't you doing your homework?
- Helen:** Dunno.

This discussion is interesting as it highlights a tension between home and school, whilst Helen worried about her mother's response to her sanctions and this clearly caused her some concern, she did not find the home environment conducive for working in. It may be that educational attainment did not have a high precedence in Helen's home. This was suggested in that Helen's mother took her away on holiday over the SATs week with the result being that Helen missed her key stage two SATs exams.

- Helen:** I wasn't here for SATS.
- CB:** Where were you?
- Helen:** Holiday
- CB:** So you didn't do your SATS? Were you happy about that?
- Helen:** Yeah.
- CB:** What did your mum say?
- Helen:** Well, they found out that I went on holiday so my mum came in with me cos usually...

Yeah, school found out and my mum came with me because sometimes they like usually fine our parents and go to court.

CB: So are they taking your mum to court?

Helen: No it was OK.

It may also be that the sanctions system had an effect upon Helen's perception of her right to be a valid member of the classroom community. This was suggested in the above RE lesson excerpt in that when threatened with a warning by the teacher, Helen's classroom behaviour changed from out-spoken but engaged to withdrawn and disengaged in the activity. Helen vocalised the effect that she felt her (punished) behaviour had on her class and teacher and herself:

CB: I was going to ask about warnings, just going back to warnings, if you got a warning do you think that upsets you or the class or the teacher?

Helen: Well, if we're like reading a book or something then it like upsets the other children and, cos we're distracting them and it like up...kind of upsets the teacher really.

CB: Does it make you feel bad at all?

Helen: Yeah, sometimes... I regret to do something wrong.

7.4.2 Isolated in class

This suggests that Helen felt a sense of being an inappropriate learner and it may explain her withdrawal from the activity and from other pupils. She was clearly sensitive about being included in class as suggested in her response to the direction to get into pairs for a literacy activity:

The teacher tells pupils to get into partners. This causes some debate as pupils chat about who they want to work with. However, Helen sits with her arms crossed looks to be making no gesture towards finding a partner. The teacher observes this and asks her who she is working with. Helen replies 'Ronan' who is seated next to her but is turned round chatting to the boys behind. Ronan makes a huge fuss about working with Helen and outright refuses to, Helen doesn't react to this at all but sits with her arms crossed looking down at her desk. The teacher then calls over Tania to sit and work with Helen. Helen doesn't respond to this either and neither pupil talk to each other, Helen remains

arms crossed looking down. Tania doesn't look very happy either and they avoid eye contact.

This example illustrates that Helen had good reason to feel reluctant to engage with other pupils, when the response from them was so negative. However, she was clearly a lot happier about work when it involved collaboration with her friends. When Helen was asked about why she put her hand up to answer questions, she responded that it was in order to 'get involved'. In fact she much preferred small group working to individual work:

Helen: I prefer working in two's. I like working with three's and two's cos usually Connor comes in our group if we're in a three. Connor, Lorna and that's it.

CB: So why do you prefer that?

Helen: I dunno.

CB: Is it to do with the people that you work with?

Helen: Yeah ... We chat and talk about the lesson as well... More interesting.

This suggests that when Helen felt involved in the classroom activity she took much greater pleasure in lessons and felt more positively towards them. However, it was notable that for the duration of my time spent with Helen in Ivy school she made no reference to the importance of doing well academically and made no comment on her performance or attainment. The only aspect of school which was of relevance for Helen was the social in terms of her relationship with others. Furthermore, with regards Helen's ambitions for the future it was interesting that her career choice, (similarly to Megan's) concerned caring for small children:

CB: Firstly, when do you wanna leave school? Have you got any plans?

Helen: Oh, um, I wanna be, I wanna look after children like in, well, I wanna look after children really. Like, um, like, there's like nurse....well, not a nurse thing, but there's this like play-school or nursery kind of thing where you go and look after children.

7.5 Transition to secondary

7.5.1 Helen's profile at the Maple

I followed up Helen three years later when she was in year nine at the Maple secondary school. Helen was currently placed in the bottom groups for all set classes which were English, Maths and Science. Her prior attainment in terms of key stage two SATs results were teacher estimates as she was absent from the exams. She achieved a level two in maths and three in English and Science which is well below the level deemed acceptable by national government (level four). Pupils were also assessed every year at the Maple according to their attainment and attitude towards the subject. Helen's most recent assessments are provided below. Both in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest:

Table 8. Helen's Academic Performances

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	4C	2*
Maths	4C	3*
Science	3A	3*
IT	4C	3*
Drama	6C	3*
Art	4B	2*
DT	4A	3*
French	3C	4*
Geography	4B	3*
History	3B	3*
Music	4A	3*
European Studies	3C	2*

These results suggest that Helen was attaining significantly below the national average. Her attitude results show a majority response of three out of five which indicates that her attitude was considered by most teachers as 'satisfactory', in English, Art and European Studies her attitude was 'unsatisfactory' and only in one subject (French) was Helen's attitude considered to be 'good'.

7.5.2 Experience of transition and comparison with previous move

Helen described feeling quite anxious prior to her transition to secondary school, but was relieved to find that the reality of secondary school was not as bad as she feared it would be:

Helen: I was nervous when I first came and thinking I was gonna get picked on, but then I met loads of friends.

CB: Why did you think you were going to get picked on?

Helen: I have been like hearing that year 11's put you in the 'grundens' bins [school waste bins] and that, but it didn't happen.

A big comfort to Helen was having the support of her friends from Ivy who were also joining the school at the same time. It was apparent that her friendships with Lorna and Kirsten had survived through the summer holidays and made joining the school 'a bit better'. On the first day Helen walked to school with her friend Kirsten and claimed this made the experience more positive:

I was quite excited but quite nervous.

When asked why she felt excited Helen replied:

I went with my friends, I walked with my friend, Kirsten.

It was apparent that the support of her friends led to a much more positive experience of school transition than the turbulent move.

7.5.3 Out of school life

Out of school Helen has had quite a challenging time since joining the Maple in her father having left home a year and a half previously when Helen was in year eight. It would appear that Helen felt responsible for her mother and as such found the support of her friends helpful in the role of confidante as she found it difficult to communicate with her mother. Helen felt that some tranquillity in her home life would make her life a lot better:

CB: What could u change to bring you here (happiest place) to make things perfect?

Helen: Good life.

CB: What does that mean?

Helen: Well its a bit hectic at home coz like my Dad left and my Mum lost her ring that she got from my dad for her birthday and I just want my mum to find a man and that I know it will take time and that.

CB: When was that?

Helen: A little while ago.

CB: Must be hard.

Helen: Yeah.

CB: Do you talk to your mum about it?

Helen: Not really.

CB: Do you talk to your friends about it?

Helen: Sometimes, that helps.

7.5.4 Trusting friendships

Helen unique of other case study pupils was the only pupil to consider friends among those people she could trust. In discussing the foundation for this trust it was apparent that the out of school contact with friends was important, as was (similar to Liza) the affirmation of social bonds between parents:

CB: Who have you gone to talk to about something personal over the last year or so?

Helen: My friends Samantha and Kirsten maybe.

CB: Samantha? Kirsten? Anyone else?

Helen: Well me and Samantha's mum get on as well.

CB: Samantha's mum?

Helen: Yeah, coz my mum and her mum knew each other anyway and she came to my mum's wedding reception and I went to Kirsten's wedding reception, so I got on with Kirsten's mum and dad and called em Mum and Dad.

It was notable that both with Samantha and Kirsten, it was the duration of friendships as well as bonds with their parents had resulted in bonds of trust:

CB: So is Samantha your best friend?

Helen: Yeah.

CB: And she used to be your best friend at Ivy? (Kirsten)

Helen: She is still kind of, but coz me and Samantha got on very well and me and her mum get on well and its also coz we've been friends for ages now.

These friendships which operated through the home sphere as well as in school could be seen to represent bonded forms of relationship whereby the relationship was characterised by trust and emotional intimacy between friendships, but also represented bridging forms of social network in that Helen had formed close attachments with her friend's parents which she found to be very supportive with regards discussing personal and sensitive issues about her home life. This bridging offered through Helen's school based social networks could be seen to offer bridging into the local community, in terms of the support generated through her friends parents. However this type of bridging did not appear to offer a direct advantage in terms of her school life. In this way we can see Helen's friendship network to represent a community form of social capital network, but did represent a bridging social capital network within school.

7.5.5 Bridging social networks

Whilst the ties between Helen and her two closest friends could be seen to be very tight, she had also formed looser bonds with a wider group of friends which were mixed boys and girls. Helen clearly generated a feeling of solidarity with this group of friends, which had its associated territory of the 'conker tree'.

When asked about her favourite place Samantha responded:

Helen: The park, the conker tree near my house, it's a little woodland bit. It's where Samantha lives.

CB: Is that where you go to hangout?

Helen: Yeah, if you come out of the centre there's plantation road, that's where I live, and if you cross over from the main road, there's a little woodland bit and its near there.

CB: Who goes there? people in school? or people out of school?

Helen: People out of school and if I feel like it Kieran, Ross, Samantha and that come on my trampoline. But for my birthday this year I'm getting my belly button done and I want to have a pool party sort of thing and I said to my mum, can I have people camp out by the trampoline.

CB: Why is it your favourite place?

Helen: Coz I really like all those going up there and meeting each other, and sometimes they knock for me.

CB: so it's more about the people then?

Helen: Yeah, the people.

CB: What is it about them?

Helen: Just that they're my friends?

The significance of the conker tree territory could be seen to be the hub of the group's activity and through the invitation of when 'they knock for me' Helen perceived the consolidation of membership with the group and the associated validation of the friendships. The security in which Helen felt in this social group was indicated in that she invited them into her home territory to go on the trampoline.

7.6 Informal aspects of school

7.6.1 Some turbulence in friendship groups

Whilst Helen's friendship with Samantha and Kirsten had managed to last the duration of transition to secondary and the following two and a half years, it was apparent that there had still been some turbulence in Helen's more recent friendships. As to her role within friendship groups she acknowledged that she had swung between poles of peacemaker and perpetrator of arguments:

I sometimes have arguments and sometimes try to keep things smooth.

For example she had experienced friction with Lorna which had the result of the deterioration of the friendship:

CB: What happened there with Lorna?

Helen: Oh we just had like a fall out and that, kept falling out, get together and then falling out.

CB: What was that about?

Helen: I dunno she thinks that I was like taking Kirsten away from her and all that.

Nevertheless, the friendships forged with pupils when 'hanging out' in the conker tree territory appeared to have penetrated her friendships in school.

These friendships extended to a group of seven pupils with the associated territory outside the maths block.

7.6.2 Outside maths block territory

When asked about her favourite place in school this playground meeting place was significant in representing a place of ownership whereby friendship membership could be consolidated through the fun and activity within the area away from other staff members.

CB: What's your favourite place in school?

Helen: Out there near Maths, it's like just us, we just like mess around and hang around with each other.

CB: So it feels like your space?

Helen: Yeah kind of like that.

It was notable that this territory was associated with the Maths block, Maths being the one subject Helen enjoyed and the Maths teacher being one of only two teachers which Helen liked and trusted (as will be expanded in the next section.) In speculating as to the significance of Helen's friendships upon her experience of school-life, it could be argued that they have had a profoundly positive effect upon her enjoyment of school. When asked how she was doing at school Helen responded:

Helen: This one? Fine.

CB: Yeah? In what way?

Helen: Got lots of friends and like I aint really getting picked on [...] And so I've done well in my lessons, done better in my lessons than I did in year seven.

CB: How does that you make me feel?

Helen: Happy.

This is interesting as it reveals that Helen's primary gauge of 'doing well' in school was in terms of her social relationships. Therefore in view of the extended number of friends she had and that she was no longer bullied constituted a self perception of being successful in her school life. Upon reflection it was also apparent that Helen attributed her more secure social

network to a perception of better performance in class. Perhaps she saw herself as a more deserving classroom member in having acquired a more secure friendship group, than she did when first joining the school.

7.7 Formal aspects of school

7.7.1 Relationship with maths teacher

Of all the teachers Helen came into contact with at the Maple, it was notable that the only ones she liked were her Maths and English teachers, Miss Bright and Miss French. This was significant as Helen believed that the most important thing that determined doing well at school at the Maple was 'getting on with teachers'. Yet for the vast majority of her subjects Helen didn't feel she had a good relationship with them. In exploring what enabled a good relationship with Miss Bright Helen made the following comment:

Helen: I dunno it's like me, my friend Samantha- the blonde haired girl in maths, me and her get on with Miss Bright well, like when Miss Bright's dog was dying we was asking her how her dog was and that, and then like I dunno we got on really well with her, and she's a laugh and that.

.CB: Is that the most important thing then, you find with the teachers, whether you can have a laugh and get along with them?

Helen: Yeah.

This suggests that as with her relationships with friends, the home-school connection (at least in conversational terms) was important in consolidating a positive relationship with her teacher. The apparent strength of the relationship from Helen's perspective was that she felt she could relate to her Maths teacher on an equal playing field, in that there was mutual respect marked through being able to share in humorous exchange together. However, whilst this dynamic might have made for a positive experience of pupil-teacher interaction, in reflecting upon Helen's grades for effort in maths and English (3*, 2*) it was apparent that as of yet this shift in attitude had not translated into achievement with regards her perceived attitude towards work, and nor had it yet affected her attainment (English 4C, Maths 4C) as she was still attaining well below the

national average for her age group. However, as will be discussed later, it may be that this picture might change in the future.

7.7.2 Importance of teaching staff in enjoying lessons

It was significant that the only lessons Helen enjoyed in the Maple were Maths and English which appeared to be directly relational to her ease with teachers and the ability to have 'fun' in lessons:

CB: Do you enjoy lessons here?

Helen: I like maths and English cos I like the teachers.

CB; Is that the most important aspect of liking lessons then- the teachers rather than the subject?

Helen: Yeah but Maths is a good subject.

CB: What is it you like about maths particularly then?

Helen: I dunno we do fun things, and like work on different things and like work off sheets. Miss Bright gives off sheets and we work off those.

This suggests that as opposed to being inspired by the subject matter itself, Helen took pleasure from her relationship with the teacher and the scope she had to engage in 'fun' activity. It also followed that negative experiences with teachers have had the effect of turning Helen off subjects that she once enjoyed:

CB: What about IT, you used to like that at Ivy?

Helen: It was good at Ivy but here we have Mr Porter, we don't really like him, he's horrible. Nasty, sends us out for no reason.

CB: Does that stop you enjoying the lesson then?

Helen: Well it does a bit really because of some of them in there are my friends and I try to stick up for them, coz they don't really do anything just play on sims.

As such Helen's behaviour in ICT lessons was disengaged from the teacher and pupils around her, she was quiet and withdrawn and appeared to take little pleasure from the learning exercise:

The class are sat on their computers some are conferring quietly with their partners but not Helen, she is staring out the window. The task is to use the internet to scan google

earth. Helen is sat next to her friend Samantha, but both are staring at the screen, although they don't appear to be doing much. The teacher is involved at his own screen and there is no interaction with the class. One boy pokes Helen to get her attention, a couple of children are looking at some game on screen and she turns and smiles but does not get involved. Mr Porter shouts at a boy who is messing around. This is the third time and he takes him out the room. Other children start chatting, but Helen is more interested in looking at her house on Google map. At 12:20 she turns to Samantha and shows her house on Google map, this is the first time they have conversed all lesson. They compare houses. The teacher comes back in and tells the class to get back to their own seats.

7.7.3 Active in Maths

Helen's classroom performance in ICT was very different from the way she conducted herself in Maths. In these lessons, Helen was much more extroverted, participative and louder. She demonstrated far greater confidence in her right to be a valued member of the class and frequently conversed directly with the teacher as well as with other pupils:

The teacher comes in and Samantha and Helen call her over to the back of the class where they are sitting together. Miss Bright chats to them for a couple of minutes and then moves to the front of the class. She addresses the class and asks them to take their jackets off. This takes three attempts before all pupils respond. The teacher then addresses the class and tells them they are playing bingo. This involves giving the class a sum which they have to work out and the answer is a figure that needs to be crossed off. There is a chorus of "Oh Miss" when the teacher gives a more difficult sum. Helen bounces in her seat and makes some excitable sounds and then exclaims to the teacher that she's cold. The class chat loudly throughout. The sum is 18 divided by six, Helen counts it out on her hand and then exclaims that she can't do it. The LSA then moves round from Samantha to Helen and talks her through it. Helen and Samantha are louder and more vocal than most of the other pupils, they good naturedly spar off each other and make frequent vocal exclamations regarding the sums. However, they appear engaged in the activity and there is a good atmosphere in the room as most pupils seem to be enjoying the task. Helen asks Mrs Niles [class LSA] if she has brought her sticker

book and then uses the display of stickers to work out the answer showing initiative. Mrs Niles tells Samantha to calm down as she has got very excited about working out a sum. There are cheers and exclamations of good natured frustration when anyone gets bingo. On one occasion Helen loses by one and shouts out and blows a raspberry, but the teacher doesn't seem to mind.

Despite Helen and her friend needing to be checked every now and again as they had the tendency to get a bit over excited, it was apparent that they enjoyed the learning activity and for the most part were engaged in the work. However, as the following accounts suggest, this on-task attitude was only a more recent shift in attitude for Helen.

7.7.4 Maths' staff perceptions

It is clear from her Maths teacher's and LSA's accounts that they liked Helen and believed that her performance in class demonstrated a more positive attitude towards work than previously:

She [Helen] has settled down a lot. I think she's growing up. She used to be very easily distracted, and now she does chat a lot, but she gets her work done. She can work and chat. She seems a lot happier and although she does chat she will now tell off Lorna for not getting her work done and distracting her. I like Helen. She's very close to Samantha, they get on really well and that's made a difference in lessons. [Miss Bright, Maths teacher.]

This suggests the positive effect upon learning attitude of good relations between Helen and her friends, as well as her teachers. Despite Helen having experienced a family break-up, in addition to the residual effects of her turbulent move, it would appear that her security in core friendships have been able, to some extent, to offset these challenging factors, in that she had recently demonstrated a more positive attitude towards work in the subjects that she enjoyed.

A similar account was given by Mrs Niles an LSA who sat with Helen and Samantha during maths and English. It is notable that Mrs Niles was the only other named member of staff at the Maple that Helen noted good relations with:

I sit with Helen in English as well and the difference between when she started and now. She tries a lot harder now, she is a lot more settled. She does chat a lot, but she can do both.

As such it would appear that social relationships played a fundamental role in Helen's attitude towards lessons. However, as the dual classroom observations suggest it would appear that both relations with Helen's peers and teachers (support staff) needed to be good for this to have a tangible positive effect upon her attitude to work. As this appeared to be a recent shift in events, it may be that the improved relationships could have a future positive effect upon her attainment in formal learning outcomes, at least with regards her two core subjects Maths and English.

7.5 Summary: What role mobility?

Helen's is a different story of turbulence with respect to her change of school but not change of home and community. However, the significance of social relationships with friends above all other aspects of her schooling is in line with the other case study pupils. It would appear that Helen's close school-home-community links have been a significant resource in the building and maintenance of a bridging social capital network, at least with respect to her community life. Helen's story suggests that there are other factors external to turbulence which can be seen to have had an impact in affecting her schooling experiences. These include the effects of poverty, family break-up, and the (suggested) lack of pro-educational values from her family.

Yet over the period of this study Helen has been able to build trust in core friendships that has been hard earned across the duration of transition from primary to secondary school, and through close ties formed with friends parents. It is possible to consider how strong bonded friendships with Kirsten and Samantha and the social networks they extend to their parents, in addition to the wider friendship groups Helen is part of, can be seen to have forged some sense of security which has made an impact upon Helen's positive social experience of school. In recent times there is the suggestion this stability might

lead to benefit in terms of formal schooling outcomes, although this is not reflected in Helen's most recent attainment and aptitude scores.

Whilst Helen could be seen to be in some ways displaced in Ivy, by year nine at the Maple she can be seen to have settled in to a greater extent in occupying a more confident role as a valued member of the classroom community. However, it is notable that this has only been possible in the core lessons Maths and English in which Helen is streamed with other low attaining pupils in the year. The impact of school culture can be seen to be significantly illustrated here. Helen's classroom behaviour does not appear to have changed significantly between primary school and secondary in that at times Helen can be seen to be withdrawn and disengaged and at others lively and enthused. However, whilst in primary school Helen could be seen to swing between poles suddenly and frequently, these two aspects to Helen's classroom performance are now mediated by the lessons she is involved in. The culture of Helen's low ability maths group is more conducive to her manner of expressing herself (when happy) in class. Shouting out to the teacher, lively dialogue and 'fun' activities are features of this class environment where perhaps the culture in the mixed ability classrooms is more formal and antithetical to this style of classroom behaviour, hence why Helen and her friends have been in trouble with their ICT teacher. Helen can be seen to feel accepted by her Maths and English teacher and a valued and respected part of the classroom community which has created a positive experience of these lessons and valued social relationships with her teachers and seat-mates which are marked by trust.

Formal attainment outcomes have not been a feature of concern for Helen throughout her schooling career and this is reflected in her lower than average attainment and lack of focus upon formal learning outcomes. However, it is possible to speculate, on account of Helen's maths teacher and LSA, that an unintended outcome of Helen's greater security in friendships is in a greater application to her work. This has not yet demonstrated a tangible affect upon her achievement, but it is a hopeful sign. It is however, unlikely that this will penetrate Helen's other lessons in school as she lacks interest in the subjects as well as the teachers who deliver them.

In conclusion Helen's story can be seen to support Coleman's view that community links play an important role with regards children's schooling experiences, but that these may not necessarily be with regards pro-educational values. Helen's home and community links at the 'Brook', the 'conker tree' and the 'pub' are a far cry from the formal structured extra curricula activities of the middle class children of Lareau's (2001) study, and in many ways they are not conducive to the formal aspects of school, nevertheless they represent a group which has been able to carve out a legitimate space in school in the 'outside maths' playground territory which spills into the formal spaces of the maths classroom if nowhere further.

8. Megan Case Study

8.1 Background

8.1.1 Megan profile

I first met Megan when she was 10 years old having joined Hollybush one year ago in year four. At the point of joining the school her class teacher told me there had been some disagreement over her true age amongst the teachers as she looked so much younger and was considerably smaller than other children her age. Megan had some absence from school since joining due to a health complaint in the form of a hole in her heart when she was a baby. She has had several operations but has recovered well, although she still needed regular check-ups at the hospital to monitor her. Megan also had another sister Mia who joined at the same time and was a year younger. Megan was from an Irish traveller cultural background and associated with this lifestyle had experienced many changes of school as well as significant gaps in her learning. This had the result of causing Megan significant problems in keeping up with her peers and as such she frequently received a tailored education plan involving small group work with a learning assistant inside and out of the classroom. This provision was difficult for the school to provide as the SENCO and class teacher Mrs Simon told me that whilst Megan should have a statement, this had not yet been possible to procure from the local authority due to the elongated process of assessment that statementing required. She speculated that this may also have been the case in previous schools. Megan's sister Mia had similar problems in accessing the curriculum.

8.1.2 School background prior to moving

When interviewed in year five at primary school Maggie couldn't remember how many schools she had attended previously. As far as she could recall there had been at least four previous schools which she could identify not by name, only by region. They included:

One in the north, two in Ireland, and er then Dublin, that was... I think there was one or two, can't remember... Then before I came to [Hollybush,] I was in Hayes, down London".

Of her most recent previous school in Hayes, a suburban town on the outskirts of west London, Maggie couldn't recall much detail. She had attended school for only two months and claimed to "feel a lot better" upon learning that the family were to leave the area. Maggie didn't like her last school, which could in part be accounted for in that she voiced some prejudice against the school composition:

Megan: Cause there's lots of... black... people and Indians and stuff.

CB: And you didn't like that? Why not?

Megan: I just don't, I can't get along with them people.

CB: Why not?

Megan: I dunno just makes me sick of them.

This is all that Maggie could recall of her last school. Her comments reveal a deeply ingrained discrimination against people from different ethnic backgrounds which appeared to influence her judgements about her experiences of schooling in Hayes. When asked about the school before that, "*in the north*", Maggie claimed to have no recollection apart from that she "*just really didn't like it.*" When asked about friends at the school in Hayes, she responded "*two cousins, three cousins*", but didn't want to elaborate further. When asked how she felt about leaving that school she responded: "*wanted to go*".

Maggie had no records at Hollybush with details of her prior schooling experience. The SENCO told me this was common for travellers at the school. Due to the frequency in which travellers move it was notoriously difficult in tracking previous schooling records.

8.1.3 Reasons for moving

Continual movement can be seen to be a typical feature of the traveller culture (Bancroft, 2005). The teachers at Hollybush school and Ivy described frustration

in the tendency for traveller children to be withdrawn from school with very little if any notification which would invariably come through the pupil (as opposed to their parent) in the last day or so of school. Mrs Kelly, one of the regular supply teachers at Hollybush, was involved with the traveller community at the local site and told me this movement was often related to visiting extended family in different locations, and in the early summer months traveller children would frequently leave the school to attend regular horse fairs around the country.

It appeared that making connections with other pupils in her limited time in schools was something quite unusual for Megan. In fact, throughout her whole schooling experience it seemed there was only one girl who made a big impact on her and this was a girl she met in play-school. Megan recounted a profound sense of loss with regards losing contact with this friend:

Megan: There was one friend who was in play-school, I can still remember her. I wish I could see her again but my wishes are still waiting and she was about that high [indicates to her shoulder] and I was that high [indicates similar height]. Name's, um, Sophie.

CB: And you were both little together at the same time?

Megan: Yeah. I really, really, really, really, really, really want to see her again.

CB: Do you think you will?

Megan: But I can't 'cause I don't know what she looks like.

CB: Where did you know her from?

Megan: Um, I think I... from staying in Dublin.

CB: Maybe one day you might bump into each other.

Megan: Yeah, but how can you remember her? All I can remember is that... Blue eyes and she had a, a friend.

That this loss was so significant was interesting given that Maggie kept in touch with very few pupils from her previous schools, in fact the only pupils she had kept in touch with were family members with one exception:

Megan: Just my two cousins. Oh yeah... and one girl.

CB: How do you keep in touch with her?

Megan: Phone I suppose.

CB: Where is your friend from?

Megan: I think she's from the North.

CB: Do you call her?, does she call you? Or do your parents know each other?

Megan: Well, me and her's friend and we get, we get the numbers for each other. And I ask to use the phone off my mum and she asked hers. And that's how we can keep in touch.

CB: Do you miss her?

Megan: Yeah.

CB: Do you miss any other of the friends you've been to school with?

Megan: No.

These accounts suggests that it was in fact quite unusual for Megan to make a connection with other children, but in the few occasions that she had been able to make a friendship there was a clear intention to keep in touch, despite that in practice correspondence was ad hoc and difficult. This rareness in forming friendships may explain why when asked about her feelings with regards moving schools, Megan responded in a nonchalant manner suggesting she was quite comfortable with the frequent moving:

It's fine, just get a new set of friends, you get... get... new teachers and everything.

This comment may be surprising given that judging by previous experience Megan seemed to have experienced problems in making friends at school. It may be that for Megan the opportunity of moving might have been associated with the promise of a better start elsewhere, although in practice this promise had failed to materialise in previous schools.

8.2 Life out of school: the traveller site

Outside of school, Megan didn't take part in any extra curricula activities arranged by the school. She spent all her time with her family, mostly at the site. It was very difficult to gain access to the site as a non traveller as the boundaries were clearly staked out by high fencing, or walling. There was only one entrance at the end of a long dusty tracked which was gated. I was lucky enough to negotiate access to the site in accompanying Mrs Kelly (who was known to the community) on a trip to discuss Megan's reading progress. Mrs Kelly told me that as a stranger to the site community, I would be very unlikely to gain entrance to the site without an invitation. She also gave me instructions to dress casually and recommended I removed my matching hat and scarf as this might be seen as 'showy'. The driveway to the entrance appeared to be

informally monitored in terms of vetting cars approaching, this was illustrated in that several older teenagers came cycling up to the gate as we drove up the drive. We were required to stop the car, open the window and address these young men who asked our business at the site (albeit politely). Mrs Kelly stated that we were from the school and known to Megan's mother (who she addressed by her full name). She also stated that our reason for visiting was to return Megan's work book. This entry procedure reminded me of customs control at the airport and indeed the experience of crossing borders felt strangely similar to entering a foreign country. The site comprised of rows of caravans each with its own small garden area outside. These gardens were meticulously maintained and very neat and tidy. Behind the caravans were several fields where a number of teenagers were riding horses and smaller children played on the track on bikes. When I entered Megan's enclosure I was surprised to find about seven children milling around all very well behaved and Megan was holding a small child. It transpired this was Megan's younger brother who she had spoken to me about previously. This had come up in conversation when Megan was asked whether she liked school, she had replied; "I'd rather be at home looking after my younger brother". Having come from a large family of 12 siblings in which she was one of the older in the family, Megan had spent a lot of time caring for younger siblings. She was in fact very keen on caring for small children and when asked what she would like to do after leaving school replied:

Looking after babies... In hospital, newborn babies. That's what I'd like to do. ... Take me ages to do it. But I can work with children, I love children.

Megan offered to show me her horse and as we wandered out to the paddock I asked her more about how she spent her time at the site. Megan told me she would either help her mother, or play with friends at the site, "*running about and that*". She also spent time tending to or riding the family's horse. As we approached the paddock her older brother aged 16 was galloping around the field jumping over fences. He was a very adept horseman and we discussed the horse and him, both of which it was evident that Megan was very proud. Both in terms of how Megan spoke about her family and upon meeting them at the site,

it was clear they were very close. And it seemed as if this tight knit ethos permeated the whole site community. Whilst the children seemed to spend most of their free time at the site, they would occasionally venture into town together but it seemed this wouldn't happen on their own. When asked if she saw school friends outside of school or took part in activities in the local town Megan replied:

Megan: Er, Lola's at my site, she's a nice friend and we always go out swimming together and everything and Josie's very, very kind.

CB: Does she come down the site?

Megan: No.

Having experienced the difficulty entering the site, it didn't surprise me that non-traveller school friends didn't come into the site as I found the experience myself to be intimidating as an outsider. Were I not accompanying Mrs Kelly I may well have been disinclined to attempt entry on my own and Mrs Kelly was doubtful that I would have been granted entry.

8.3 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

8.3.1 Friends in the playground

When asked who her friends were in school Megan replied:

Josie and Lola.

These were the same children as mentioned by name in the previous section. Lola was another traveller from the same site, who Megan knew prior to joining school. She was two years younger than Megan. Josie was a local child who lived in a nearby council estate; she was same age as Lola and in her class. These were the friends that Megan could always be found with during break times and lunchtimes. They wandered around school in a group of four: Megan, her sister Mia in year four, Lola and Josie in year three. Josie was the only non-traveller and also came from a low income background. She spent a lot of time with Mia and Lola in lessons as they sat together in their registration lessons and often completed group work together with the LSA as the lowest ability

table. The four seemed very tight during break times, and from observation the group were generally very lively and bubbly. They would spend most of their time running around and laughing together and seemed often amongst the last to come into the dinner hall to eat. On two occasions we sat together and had lunch in the lunch hall. This was a fun experience and the girls seemed confident and gregarious: they asked lots of questions and happily answered the questions I asked them. There was a fair amount of banter between the group, as they traded food items and chivvied each other to finish so they could go out to play. In summary the informal territories of school appeared to be fun and happy places for Megan, where she felt free to exercise autonomy over the games the groups played and where they could roam about (within confines of play areas) with freedom.

8.3.2 Horse loving identity

Associated with the playground territories Megan occupied, she could be seen to demonstrate a self valuing identity in school, connected to her love of horses and horse fairs. This found expression through her embodied performances in the playground of enacting horse fair scenarios and playing 'wild horses'. I had observed this from distance a few times and on one occasion I saw the group galloping around in a corner of the playground. They were very excited and exuberant and Megan and Mia seemed to be directing the group. As I approached the children stopped their game and ran up to me. I asked what they were playing and Megan replied 'wild horses'! It transpired the game involved the children (as horses) roaming the countryside and having adventures. The three traveller girls starting chatting away about horses and it was clear that the topic of horses was dear to their hearts.

On another occasion I found Megan and her three playground friends braiding each other's hair with matching fluffy hair bands. They told me they were doing each other's 'manes' and apparently the hair bands had been procured from a recent horse fair. Josie also sported one of these bands which had been given to her for a present from Megan's sister Mia. I was surprised and impressed to what extent this horse related theme, had found expression in different and

creative ways, in affirming group bonds through various fantasy activities in the playground. It seemed that the horse loving identity represented a source of pleasure and bonding in the informal territories of the playground.

8.3.3 Friends in class

Whilst Megan could be seen to have fun and play with Lola, Josie and Mia in the playground, none of these friends were Megan's age and therefore she shared no lessons with any other from the group. Until recently Megan had also been in the same registration class as the three younger girls, but had recently been moved up to a class with her peers of the same age five months previously. The class Megan was moved into had as class teacher Mrs Simon who also doubled as the school SENCO. She was therefore known to Megan prior to the move, having been involved with her special learning requirements. Mrs Simon told me that the decision to move Megan had been a joint one between her teachers and in agreement with her mother, because:

It was decided Megan would benefit from being with her peers, having felt some loss of esteem in having been kept behind with children that were much younger. (Mrs Simon, SENCO and class teacher.)

However, from observation Megan did not settle in comfortably with the other peers her age. This will be expanded upon on the next section but it was notable that Megan did not orientate to any other pupils in a similar way in which she could be seen to interact with her friends in the playground. When asked if she had any other friends in class Megan answered after pausing to think:

Rhianna, She's in my class.

Rhianna was the year above Megan but was in the same mixed year registration class. They sometimes sat next to each other in lessons. When questioned as to the nature of their friendship Megan gave the following account:

CB: Why do you get on with Rhianna? What makes you friends?

Megan: Well, Rhianna, if I'm stuck on the work, she helps me.... And Rhianna's kind.

CB: Is she? She helps you with the work, yeah? Is she nice in other ways?

Megan: Yeah. Yeah. If everyone's outside, like, she'll talk up for me.

CB: So she'll stand up for you?

Megan: Yeah and, um... every, every time we change classes, she's always in there with me before... she's always in the same class changing.

CB: So don't you like changing classes?

Megan: No... And um Say, like, it's, um, old Year sixes has gone on a trip, old Year fives, and I didn't go, so we were looking just around the class like we did, she would come up with me.

This account is interesting as it reveals how isolated and removed from her classroom peers Megan felt. It's clear that the main reasons for her friendship with Rhianna were founded in the various small ways that Rhianna was able to buffer the effects of this sense of displacement. Through helping her with the formal classroom activities, but also in providing a form of protection from the informal, Rhianna offered some comfort in alleviating Megan's displacement. This account included a significant one off event such as when Megan was excluded from a school trip (as was Rhianna), but it can also be seen to take place as a daily occurrence during lesson changes such as when children moved classes for set numeracy and literacy (both of which Megan was in the lower set.)

Whilst Rhianna represented the primary source of friendship within class, Megan also noted another friend who she got on with in class:

Oh and Jake... I think I get along with him because I used to get along with Jack.

In describing the process by which Megan forged this friendship she revealed a certain level of trust building that was necessary in order to constitute Jake as a friend in class:

CB: How did you get talking?

Megan: Well, I always used to talk to Jack [a previous traveller pupil at Hollybush].

CB: Yeah. So when did you make friends?

Megan: Um... don't know, he just hangs around Jack and we all started talking... Then I decided he's a kind...chap.

Jake's kindness was apparent through observation as on several occasions in lessons I witnessed Jake approach Megan and offer help and assistance with the learning activity in a kindly and affectionate tone. Megan's response was sometimes dismissive, but this didn't seem to deter his offers of help or enquires as to her well being. This defensiveness of other class peers, may not be surprising however, in view of the bullying Megan described.

8.3.4 Verbal bullying

Megan's experiences of verbal bullying arose in a discussion of her feelings about being in her new class. When asked about how she felt about the rest of the pupils in her class, Megan responded:

Maggie: All right. They're not really, really bad.

CB: Just a bit bad?

Megan: Yeah. But they're better, they're better than the ones last year.

CB: In Mrs Smith's class. Why are they a bit nicer in this class?

Megan: Er, it all got sorted out cause I told the teacher and that's why I changed cause um... I hate that they call me Tom Thumb.

CB: What's that?

Megan: Tom Thumb, do you watch Tom thumb? There's a little girl size of your thumb.

CB: And how did they say that?

Megan: Horrible way. And then they called me Maggie out of Simpsons, Kevin called me.

This account of bullying must have accentuated Megan's role of outsider within the classroom context and explained her sense of displacement with regards to her peers at school. In reflecting about her comments upon her friendships in school it is easy to understand why the word 'kind' comes up so regularly. This might also contribute towards Megan's defensiveness towards Jake's acts of kindness in class. It is understandable that Megan might feel suspicious to let her guard down in making friendships. What is also interesting from this account is that Megan seemed to understand the decision for her to move classes as a reaction against the bullying. This is clearly a negative reason as it infers that

the punitive action was against Megan the victim of the bullying as opposed to the perpetrators which she later named as three boys from the previous class. Such a perception of the rationale behind the move must surely have different implications were Megan's account to cohere with Mrs Simon's that Megan had outgrown the younger class, which represents a positive reason for moving up. Nevertheless Megan claimed to feel less distressed in her new class of peers her own age, but it is notable her response to the new class as "*they're not really really bad*" was far from positive, rather it was more as if Megan did not expect to have a positive perception of her classroom experience. As this discussion has illustrated Megan clearly had very different experiences within the formal and informal territories of school, she even had different friends in each setting, (Megan was never seen playing with her class friends in the playground). Her embodied performances and interactions in the respective settings, was also very different, as will be expanded within the following section.

8.5 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

8.5.1 Isolated in class

Being that my first few encounters with Megan had been in the playground or school halls, observing her in class for the first time was quite surprising. Gone was the bubbly, lively and excitable girl that had happily chatted away with me on the lunch table and instead the classroom Megan was a lot quieter, cagey and unsure of herself. She could be seen to be very anxious in relation to any learning activity the class was assigned, and was reluctant to attempt any activity unaided. She was much more likely to seek out the help of the learning support assistants, or in their absence the teacher.

The teacher starts the lesson at 2:20, she writes the definition of 'archaeology' on the board. She tells children to write this down and then proceeds to tell a story about a group of metal detectors in a local town. About half the class are listening and the other half are still writing down the definition including Megan. The teacher then tells children to gather on the floor. Megan is one of the last to sit down and does so

reluctantly on the edge of the group. The teacher explains the learning activity and sends children back to their seats. As the teacher comes over Megan's side of the classroom, Megan gets up and goes and asks where the LSA is. The teacher answers "she's not here but don't worry I'll help you." Megan then complies with the actions of the other children and gets her literacy book without a fuss. (archaeology-literacy lesson.)

Megan's isolation in class may not have been aided in the frequent grouping rearrangements. Megan noted having been on three or four different table groupings already that year. For all classes except for literacy and numeracy children were placed in mixed ability tables. Megan didn't really like her previous table arrangement because:

Megan: There's two girls I don't really like on it.

CB: Why don't you get on with them?

Megan: Well, they always whisper and then laugh at me.

She was happier with the more recent grouping with Owen, Nick and Leo in claiming:

It was alright. Wasn't really, really bad or anything.

When asked why she explained:

Cause Leo's on it.

Whilst Nick and Owen were both hard working and applied themselves, Leo was one of the most disruptive children in the class and was frequently getting told off for unruly classroom behaviour. Leo's disengagement manifested in a different way to Megan's in that he continually sought to gain the attention of the teacher and other pupils with his comments and actions. Megan generally ignored any misbehaviour in class but could occasionally be witnessed to collude in Leo's off-task behaviour providing it was not overtly disruptive:

Megan: I just talk to him [Leo] in class. I don't hang out with him.

CB: What do you talk about?

Megan: Play “It” in class.

CB: “It” in class? What do the teachers think about that?

Megan: Not when they’re watching just when Leo was laughing with his hand behind them all.

Despite her lack of engagement in lessons, Megan displayed none of the attention seeking behaviour of other disengaged children such as Leo, who sought to disrupt lessons. On the contrary she could be described as well behaved and quiet, and sought to go unnoticed by peers and teachers. She made very little effort to communicate with other children in the class and could frequently be seen to be lost and alone in group or paired work activities.

The teacher read the poem she discusses it a bit with the class and asks how they might go about doing an assembly on it. A couple of children volunteer suggestions. The teacher has to interrupt the flow a few times to check Leo who is making noises on Megan’s table. The teacher then tells children to pair up in order to work out a way of using this poem in an assembly. This causes commotion but most children are able to sort into pairs or small groups with the teachers permission. Someone informs the teacher that Megan hasn’t got a partner and she asks Megan in front of the class who she wants to go with. She replies “I don’t mind”. No-one volunteers for her to join their group and so the teacher then puts her with Lorna, Ally and Sophie and she goes over to their group and sits on the outskirts of the group next to Sophie. Megan sits up on her chair trying to hear the conversation which is mostly between Lorna and Ally. Sophie in front of Megan has her elbow on the table and her head on her elbow, the body language is very much excluding Megan. The teacher notices this and then calls over to Lorna asking if everyone is being included in the conversation. Lorna’s group look over a bit confused. Presently Megan moves seats and goes to sit next to Lorna. Lorna starts talking to her and explains the activity.

8.5.2 One-on-one learning support

When learning support was available Megan was removed from lessons and learned separately with a learning support advisor. Sometimes this was individual and sometimes she also worked with Leo, who had significant

learning difficulties. Megan much preferred the one-on-one or small group sessions to regular class based activities:

CB: What do you prefer out of working out here with Leo and working in the class?

Megan: Out, we, outside with Miss George and Leo.

CB: Why's that?

Megan: Because they don't, that's work more likely for me to do... Like, work that I probably, I'm on the level on.

CB: So why's that good?

Megan: Cause I learn, you, you learn bits and bits at a time.

CB: So do you think you do more learning out here than when you're in the class?

Megan: Yeah. A lot, lot more. I don't think I learn anything in class.

The fact that Megan felt she didn't learn anything in class based lessons may explain why when asked about the lesson she liked, she could only reply 'numeracy' and when asked if there were any other lessons she enjoyed replied 'not really no... Boring'. When probed as to why she enjoyed numeracy, it emerged that this was due to her assigned LSA Miss George who sat next to her throughout the lesson and helped her with the work:

Megan: She gives you help and makes it a lot easier.

CB: And why is that good?

Megan: Well if I ask what this word says, she'd tell me to try and spell it out yourself... and if it takes me a long time, she'll tell me.

Having the backup and support of the LSA gave Megan the confidence on occasion to try and take part in lessons. Indeed this was the only lesson I observed in which Megan would ever put up her hand and answer questions:

The teacher asks a question and about three quarters of the class put their hands up. Megan whispers in the LSA's ear and she nods and Megan then puts her hand up too. (Has Megan's LSA told her this is correct?) Megan gets selected to answer and her response is correct. All the other children mumble that it is correct. Megan smiles at the LSA who smiles back. She looks pleased with herself. Is Megan keen to take part in class questioning and this may be because her LSA gives her confidence in the correctness of her answers?

When asked about answering questions it emerged that Megan would very much like to be more involved in classroom activity, but lacked the confidence to do so without the support and help of the LSA to translate the questions and endorse her answers. Otherwise Megan was frightened to attempt any participation for fear of the ridicule from her peers associated with getting an answer wrong.

- CB:** What are the lessons you're more likely to put your hand up in?
Megan: Numeracy.
CB: Numeracy? And that's it?
Megan: Yeah.
CB: What would make you want to answer questions more?
Megan: If there, if there was... if I learned a lot more like.. then I'd put my hand up every question.
CB: What stops you putting up your hand and just guessing anyway?
Megan: If it's not right, they might laugh at you.
CB: Why would it matter if they laughed at you?
Megan: Cause you feel ashamed.

It was clear from this discussion that Megan felt distrustful of the peers in her class in terms of any attempt to become more integrated. In view of the example given above where she was deliberately and pointedly excluded from group based discussion it was no surprise that Megan lacked confidence to become more involved in formal classroom activity. Megan clearly wanted to learn and be more involved in class and she valued the support offered by her learning support worker in the tailored tuition she received. It was notable that this support appeared to have had a profound effect upon Megan's identity in relation to numeracy work

8.5.3 Relative confidence in numeracy ability

As discussed above, the presence of one-on-one support in the form of the learning support advisor in numeracy, had given Megan the confidence to participate in class. This confidence could be seen to have a direct influence upon her sense of self esteem in class. This was apparent through embodied

performances: her smiles and engaged behaviour in numeracy lessons which was very different to that in her other lessons. It was also illustrated through the self narrative Megan held with regards her capacity to help others:

- CB:** Do you ever help anyone in class?
Megan: How can I?
CB: What do you mean?
Megan: I can't read... I can't do anything... (...) Oh. I do help people at numeracy.
CB: Yeah? So you can help people with numeracy?
Megan: I like numeracy a lot and that's it.
CB: Who do you help with numeracy?
Megan: Mark. I explain to him stuff what we're doing.

This account is interesting as it demonstrates Megan's view that she is incapable of offering help. However, numeracy is the exception. During this lesson alone, Megan's narrative as 'unable to help' is challenged through the interaction she has with her seat-mate Mark (another turbulent pupil). Megan only sat next to Mark in numeracy, in which he was frequently disengaged in lessons. From observing several lessons together it was notable that Mark often appeared to be drifting in his own world, in staring blankly into space and not listening to the teacher:

The final 20 minutes of the lesson are spent measuring the angles on the sheet. Mark isn't sure how to measure the angles when I approach him and I ask him how to do it and he explains to me incorrectly. The LSA then explains to him how to do it and Megan repeats this information to Mark.

On a couple of other occasions I observed Mark turn to Megan and ask questions about the learning activity. Both questions involved clarification over the nature of the task as opposed to how to set about the activity. Both times Megan answered politely and smiled. These examples suggest that whilst Megan may not have offered help with regards carrying out the learning activity, she could be seen to have relished the opportunity to offer any form of help, even if it required a perfunctory response. This form of helping was important to Megan's self esteem in challenging her view that she was incapable of providing help.

The positive self image in relation to numeracy can be contextualised against Megan's mother's perceptions of her daughter's identity as a learner. Megan's mother was illiterate and Mrs Simon told me that she believed Megan's mother to be concerned for her daughter's education. On the occasion I met Megan's mother at the traveller site, she certainly appeared to be pleased with Mrs Kelly's positive feedback about Megan's progress in numeracy. She told me:

Yes Mia's good at literacy and Megan's good at numeracy.

At this praise Megan looked down and seemed bashful. This comment made me think about the contextual nature of self valuing identities. Whilst in her year group at school Megan had the most significant gaps in her numerical education, in relation to her sister (and possibly others in the family) Megan was one of the most knowledgeable. Might this have contributed to Megan's enthusiasm and enjoyment of numeracy, with the result that she was able to generate some positive sense of self in class?

8.6 Transition to secondary

8.6.1 Experience of transition and comparison with previous move

Megan moved up the Maple Community College in February 2008, six months later than the peers in her year group. She did not have an easy transition to secondary school. Since the time I had last spent with Megan in her year five at Hollybush, she had changed school a further four times. Her initial move from Hollybush involved moving down to Somerset and staying with extended family. This move was caused by:

A family row in the home.

This was sorted out and several months later the family moved back to their previous site and Megan re-joined Hollybush. However, it appeared there were residual effects following the family feud in that Megan had fallen out with another traveller girl Nina, a settled traveller who lived at the local site

permanently. This feud had various negative manifestations which spilled into Megan's school life at Hollybush:

Megan: Now I don't talk to Nina, we have rows and we have fights, everything.

CB: You used to get on didn't you?

Megan: Yeah but we had rows and ...Nina kept telling the teacher stuff that was wrong, that weren't true but she kept making up lies to the teacher.

As a result, Megan was moved on to another primary school in her final year. Megan's experience at Old Oak was more positive on account of a kindly teacher who Megan warmed to:

I reckon Old Oak was better than Hollybush and the Maple, there was one teacher there Mrs Bead, when I finished my work and if I finished before other people she let me go on the computers. And if there was a school trip she'd let me help out with the infants, it was really good.

Possibly due to Megan's positive experience at Old Oak it seemed that her mother was reluctant for her to leave the school:

I went to Old Oak, then my mum wanted me to get held back a year, and we went to meetings and all and I didn't go to school went the first year started here I wasn't here [at the Maple]. I was at home coz my mum wanted me to stay at home and then meetings and that went on and then they said I don't need to get held back a year, they said you can go to the Maple, but my mum didn't want me to go, but she finally said I can go.

Therefore, Megan's transition to secondary, as another turbulent experience, must be contextualised against a backdrop of continued movement and uncertainty with regards her continuation in formal education. This provides a unique perspective to contemplate the transition with respect to the other turbulent children in this study.

8.6.2 Megan's academic performance at the Maple

I followed up Megan when she was in the third term of year eight. At the time she was currently placed in the SEN group for English, maths, and bottom set

group for science. Megan did not take her KStwo SATs as she was away from school at this time attending an annual summer horse fair. Pupils were also assessed every year at the Maple according to their attainment and attitude towards the subject. Megan's most recent assessments are provided below. Both in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest. Attainment grades are measured by key stage tests and teacher assessment in English, Maths and Science and purely teacher assessment in all other subjects.

Table 9. Megan's Academic Performances

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	3A	4*
Maths	3A	4*
Science	3B	4*
IT	3A	4*
Drama	5C	4*
Art	4C	3*
DT	4A	5*
European Studies	2A	3*
Geography	3B	3*
History	3A	4*
Music	3A	4*

By the end of year nine pupils are expected to achieve a solid grade 5 (5A) as the minimum attainment target

(<http://sandbox.opsi.gov.uk/paper/cm/7280/annex/d>). To be on line for this target at the end of the second term in year eight (when these assessments were taken) pupils should be attaining around a level 5B or 5C. These results suggest that Megan was attaining on target only in Drama. However, for all other subjects she was significantly below average. Indeed except for Design Technology Megan's academic performance was below the minimum requirement at the end of primary school. This is in contrast with her teacher

assessments of her embodied performances as Megan's attitude results show a majority response of four out of 5 which indicates that his attitude was good for seven subjects including English, IT and Science. Megan's attitude was considered by teachers as 'excellent' in Drama, whereas in three subjects: Geography, Art and European Studies her attitude was concerned 'satisfactory'. These performance indicators will be reflected upon later.

8.6.3 *First experiences at the Maple*

Understandably Megan felt 'scared' about her first day at secondary school:

When I went into class I seen everybody and I didn't even say hello, I just stayed quiet I didn't say anything at all I just sat in my seat.

However when reflecting upon the first weeks of attending the Maple it was interesting that the early days were more positive an experience than her current experience:

CB: Were there any differences between your first day at Hollybush and your first day here?

Megan: No, not really, actually here, well at Hollybush they treat you on your first day as normal, here your first day they treat you really really kind.

Megan only recognised one former pupil from Hollybush school upon joining the Maple; Rosie. But this seemed to have little positive impact upon her arrival at the Maple. Whilst Megan noted the 'kindness' demonstrated by peers in the first week of her arrival, this didn't appear to be long standing and as Megan's account suggested the novelty seemed to soon wear off:

Megan: I came here for a half day and everyone was really kind for the first week and the second and after that they just changed.

CB: Did it make any difference knowing Rosie?

Megan: Not really because then there was Ally and I didn't know her completely, but she spoke to me the first week, all the girls was. Then there was a change, they weren't that close as friends.

It is interesting to compare this account in relation to Megan's earlier comment regarding her positive attitude at the prospect of joining a new school. It may be that after the initial fear of walking into a new school, the first days would be actually more positive than later experiences on account of the special treatment and attention she received from being the 'new girl'. As later discussion will highlight, Megan could be seen to be isolated and feel overlooked in her secondary school. The following comments suggest that Megan felt anonymous within secondary school which she attributed to the size of the school and the number of people.

Megan: Yeah I wish I was back in junior schools ... I would like to stay at the Maple but if I had a chance to go back to junior school I would go back to Old Oak. It was a really small school just one class room with all year sixes and they were all bonded because there were no other pupils from other classes to pick on you.

CB: And did you bond?

Megan: Sort of, they were kind all the time. It's not like here coz here they've got other friends so they can't be kind to you all the time because there's too many people.

In Megan's view her sense of displacement was as a result of the few pupils, among the many, at the Maple who expressed kindness and were inclusive. She saw this kindness as a finite resource wielded by her peers. Following her rationale, if classes were smaller Megan may have had a greater chance of 'bonding' with her classmates.

8.7 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

8.7.1 Class mates

Megan appeared to experience a tenuous relationship with the other girls in her class who oscillated in their attitude towards her. This seemed to leave Megan feeling confused and unsure of where she stood in relation to the other girls in the group. When asked about her class mates Megan responded:

Megan: It's just that the girls here will one minute talk to you and then the next day wont. They won't say anything mean to your face but you can easily tell that they don't want you around them.

CB: The girls here at the Maple?

Megan: The girls in my class, sometimes it's all right but then sometimes the girls blank you out... today Rosie is kind and putting holes into things for the barbeque, she's happy now, but some days she won't like you at all.

Despite this inconsistent treatment by the girls in her class, it appeared that this occasional inclusion was the closest Megan felt to any sort of friendship in school. Unsurprisingly she felt unable to trust any of her peers in school and when asked who her friends in school were, she responded:

I can't really call them friends, but erm Rosie and erm I was amazed another girl Rosie she said this morning in tutor, can I sit next to you? and I was amazed she wanted to sit next to me coz she's one of the girls like the other ones, she don't really like me.

8.7.2 Break times

Nowhere was Megan's isolation more apparent than during break times at school. This informal time was very uncomfortable for Megan as she felt very self conscious of being on her own:

I hate break because it's just you feel left out, everyone's got a friend and you're just walking round and everyone thinks you're a loner. So then you're in class and no one hardly notice.

This attitude towards break times was a far cry from Megan's embodied performances during breaks at Hollybush where she used to be very active and lively. In the Maple it appeared that Megan was completely excluded from the territories of the playground, on several occasions I went looking for her and she was nowhere to be found. One lunch time I eventually found Megan waiting on her own outside her maths class even though it was 20 minutes before the lesson was due to begin. When I asked Megan about her break time activity she explained:

Megan: If the tutor [room] is closed I just walk around waiting for lessons to be back on.

CB: Walk around school?

Megan: Walk around inside, if I have maths I'll walk around the maths corridor.

CB: What if the tutor room is open?

Megan: Sometimes with the girls, they all sit in their own little circle and chat

CB: Which girls?

Megan: Rosie, Violet, Ally, Frankie, Bryony, Emma.

Megan was sensitive to the context in which she was more likely to be included or excluded by her classroom peers and had detected that in sitting in the tutor room during break times she was more likely to be included in conversation with the girls in her class. As such during break times it appeared that the tutor room was the only social space in which Megan could feel involved even although she was literally and figuratively outside of the 'little circle':

CB: Where is your favourite place in school?

Megan: Nowhere. Probably just tutor, because it's just all the children are there and everything and it's happy because Mr Sherman [the registration class teacher] makes everyone laugh.

CB: Do you prefer it during break times or tutor group times?

Megan: Tutor group times? No I like it during break times because of the girls in the class. Yeah because all the girls in the class just talk to each other in the tutor [group time].

CB: Must be confusing?

Megan: Yeah.

This discussion underlines the connectedness of the social group to territories. Whilst the physicality of the school space is expansive, Megan felt she has no rights of entry into any territory due to the fact she was on her own. However, Megan felt some rights of access into her tutor room through her formal status of being part of the registration class. Her rights of access could be acknowledged by the girls in her class during informal time, (although only on the periphery,) although the group of girls tended to occupy a circle of tables in the centre of the classroom, whereas Megan must sit on the outskirts. Indeed from observation Megan took a seat on her own on a table in the far left hand corner of the room. It was interesting however that these group of girls did not appear to recognise Megan's right of access within the formal context of class time or what she referred to as tutor time. This will be considered in further detail later.

8.7.3 Bullying

Megan recounted experiences of verbal bullying which were not dissimilar to those she experienced in Hollybush. Whilst her account of such bullying appeared more localised than that experienced at Hollybush, it has clearly had an impact in causing her to initiate seating rearrangements. When asked if there were any person in the class she didn't enjoy sitting next to in class Megan responded:

Megan: Carly, coz she asked me why is all Irish people leprechauns?

CB: What did you say to that?

Megan: I said nothing, she said she didn't say it but there were two boys sitting next to her and I called over to Trevor who was sitting next to her and said did she say it and she said yes she did. I wasn't going to tell the teacher but he said she did say it. But the funny thing about Trevor is he's kind to you but then in Science he pulled out my thing and we was rowing and he got detention so then he called us names and he calls other girls names but then when he came back in he was really really kind.

CB: That doesn't sound very nice. Do you sit next to Carly in Science?

Megan: No, we used to but we changed.

In addition to the negative effect of such unkindness upon her emotional well being, it appeared that this had a negative impact upon Megan's learning as well in causing her to lose confidence with her work.

CB: Do you think that who you sit next to in lessons makes a difference as to how much you enjoy the lesson?

Megan: Yeah, because if you sit next to someone who is really really not kind to you it gets harder to do anything every day.

8.8 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

8.8.1 Unable to access the curriculum

As with her time in Hollybush, Megan didn't seem to enjoy any lessons at the Maple, apart from maths. The only thing she did enjoy about lessons was her teachers, notably her science teacher, although despite liking him it was notable she often felt out of her depth with her work:

Megan: I don't really enjoy Science it's just my Science teacher.

CB: So what makes you enjoy lessons?

Megan: The teachers and the work that you're able to do coz they mostly give you work that's too hard.

Megan's only strategy to cope with the work in class was to ask her seat-mates for help. However, she described having struggled to get help from her peers. When asked who she asked for help she responded:

Rosie probably. She's not the best but she's like the best in the class at like helping out.

Despite feeling that she needed the help to cope in lessons, it seemed that she felt uncomfortable seeking help in that it affected her morale:

I want the help but then I don't want it because I feel down.

The problem is that for Megan it had become increasingly difficult to ask for help from her peers as they were disinclined to sit next to her:

CB: Who are you sat next to now?

Megan: No-one, mostly all the subjects with the tutor group I'm always on my own. They've already got partners then don't, they don't really not want me or anything but they've already got partners. Then there was Carly left and then before we broke up I asked her if I could sit next to her but she said no work with someone else but no-one else would turn up.

Megan's science teacher was able to shed some light on this experience in his account of Megan's difficulties in accessing the curriculum:

Megan is totally different [from other pupils in the class] She is isolated in class, there is no point in her being here because she can't read or write. Because no one else wants to work with her, because she's a burden. There was one child who would work with her, she helps her, Carly. But it's more like shepherding. I don't do anything for her, I don't teach her anything because I can't. She has no statement or funding associated so she has to be in here, but it must be a nightmare for her. She isn't at their level, she's probably at the level of mid-primary school, but these are not her peers.

This teacher explanation is important to contextualise Megan's academic performance indicators. Whilst in the majority of lessons Megan's attitude is considered to be 'good', this can be seen to have little effect upon her formal

learning outcomes. If Mr Sherman's account is in line with other teachers, this may be because teachers felt they were unable to tailor the curriculum to make it accessible for Megan, so that despite Megan's inclination or effort, the gap between her learning and her peers was too broad to fill. It's notable that Megan's attitude scores were rated as higher in lessons which required less of a literacy/numeracy foundation: Design Technology and Drama, as well as the lower set lessons and SEN subjects: Science, English and Maths. It is understandable that Megan's attitude and motivation should wane in subjects which she could not access and felt more isolated.

It is also important to reflect upon the peer effect of Megan's experiences of lessons. Mr Sherman's account of other pupils' attitudes towards Megan clarifies her earlier comments that the girls in the class demonstrated some form of inclusion in the tutor room during informal time spent there, but did not include Megan during formal lessons. This may be on account of her peers' refusal to acknowledge her difficulties as a learner in class. They may have felt frustrated towards her appeals for help as this disrupted their own learning. This speaks to research into a performance and assessment based neo-liberal agenda whereby hierarchies of attainment create anxiety between pupils as they are situated in competition against each other (Reay and Wiliam, 1999). This might explain Carly's turnaround in behaviour from helping Megan to begin with, to addressing her using in rude and hurtful language. Although such bullying is clearly unacceptable under any circumstances, it could be speculated that if her teacher does not believe Megan should be included in lessons, then why should the pupils?

8.8.2 Self valuing identity in relation to numeracy

Megan's attitude was rated as 'good' in numeracy and she revealed that she was able to take some pleasure in numeracy as she felt it was the only lesson in which she felt able to learn anything:

Meg: I still enjoy maths because really that's the only subject I can do well, but I'm still in the lowest group, but I can't do anything about it.

It's clear that Megan recognised that her abilities in numeracy were relative, and in comparison with other pupils she was amongst the least able in her year group. For numeracy Megan was taught in a small group of seven children with significant learning needs. This group had their own classroom and the lessons I observed included three learning support staff so children had almost a ratio of 1:2 adult support.

Being amongst children working at a similar level of numerical skill appeared to give Megan some confidence to interact with other children in offering help. However, it was questionable to what extent this was valued by her peers as the following example illustrates:

A learning support advisor asks children if they would like to play a number game. She tells them to have a pen or pencil ready. Laura exclaims in a grumpy voice she doesn't have a pen. Megan offers her a 'spare' pencil. Laura takes it without smiling or saying thank you. The LSA continues to give children simple sums, a couple of boys call out the answer instead of writing them down so the LSA starts to ask pupils individually. When Laura gets asked a sum she gets stuck, Megan's LSA has just explained the same sum to her previously and Megan tries to get Laura's attention to tell her what to do. Laura ignores her. Megan turns around and tells me the correct answer and makes no further attempt to get Laura's attention.

When questioned about this interaction, it was clear that Megan felt able to generate some sense of self endorsement in her ability to 'help' others. It could be speculated that because she felt so rarely able to offer any help in school, she was undeterred by her seat-mate's negative response to her offers.

Megan: When I help other people I feel better.

CB: Who do you help?

Megan: Laura sometimes. She don't like me though, I just sometimes help anyway.

It was notable that Megan demonstrated less uncertainty in numeracy activities than in literacy activities, despite that they took place in the same classroom, with the same pupils and LSA's and even in the same lesson. Following the

above mentioned numeracy activity, the LSA working with Megan selected a word game for her to participate in:

The LSA explains the activity which is to match groups of things, i.e the ‘butterfly’ brick is to be placed next the ‘insects’ brick. Megan appears immediately anxious ‘No I can’t do it!’ The LSA explains it again and Megan looks upset ‘I can’t do it!’ The LSA then starts to demonstrate by starting to match a few words. She encourages Megan to read the words ‘capitals’ and ‘games’ by prompting her to phonetically read the syllables. Megan reads these words tentatively but successfully and exclaims in a surprised and pleased voice ‘I can read’. Encouraged she attempts the activity. She matches some words correctly, but gets confused in matching ‘Paris’ and ‘Washington’ with capitals. The LSA prompts her by asking what countries these cities were in. She doesn’t know. The LSA asks her what the capital of France is but Megan says ‘I dunno’. Leo calls the answer ‘Paris’, she claps impressed. The game continues but where Megan gets stuck Leo calls the answers. She ignores him.

Megan’s attitude towards the learning activity was clearly much more anxious in relation to the literacy activity than it was in relation to the numeracy activity. Whilst she initiated interaction with other pupils in numeracy, in the literacy activity she was less inclined to interact with her peers and fell silent. Her only interaction with peers within literacy was in relation to her struggles with the activity. It may be that Megan’s relative confidence in numeracy may prompt her participation in lessons and benefit her learning, whereas in literacy (and other lessons) she lacked this confidence.

8.8.3 Endorsement from learning support staff

It was notable that Megan’s confidence in numeracy might be seen in relation to the support she received from the learning support staff. Throughout the numeracy activity and the literacy activity Megan received a lot of encouragement and endorsement, indeed without this it is questionable as to whether she would have attempted the word game outlined above. Megan’s feelings towards the support staff were reflected in her comment that she gets on “perfect” with the “‘teachers’ in maths” [and literacy]. They also seemed fond

of her, on the last day of term one LSA gave Megan a card congratulating her on her progress that term and a gift of a notebook with a hologram of a horse on the front. This one-on-one support must clearly have been expensive for the school and yet in not having a statement of support Megan would be entitled to no attached support from the council. As a result she was only provided with such support in numeracy and literacy, as presumably it was too expensive to provide support in other lessons. It was apparent that the challenges associated with the statementing process for traveller children raised by the SENCO in primary school, had not been resolved at the secondary level.

8.8.4 Endorsement from home

While some of her teachers and peers were unsure of Megan's place in school, and that there was 'no point' in her being taught in lessons, it seemed that similar mixed messages came from home. In removing Megan from Hollybush and her reluctance to send her to the Maple, Megan's mother clearly demonstrated uncertainty as to whether Megan did belong in school. Yet on the other hand it would appear that Megan's mother was very supportive of her education generally and progress with key skills. When asked how she was doing at school Megan responded:

Megan: Mum said my reading's improved a lot, she said she's happy with what book's I'm on and stuff like that.

CB: Is that how you know you're doing well?

Megan: If she didn't tell me I wouldn't even know, when I see a word it looks complicated I just guess it, I've got a little bit better but still I'm in the lowest English [class] in the school.

CB: How do you feel about that?

Megan: Not really good but you have to be there don't you?

While Megan seemed resigned to the legal requirement to attend school, it appeared to be through her mother that she received her motivation to attend:

CB: What does it mean to do well at school here?

Megan: Mum says to get a better job when I grow up.

However it was questionable as to how convincing this line of argument was for Megan especially in view of her mother's earlier attempts to block entry to secondary school. Nevertheless, it seemed that Megan's mother was determined for her to make the best of being at school and sought to iron out any antagonisms between Megan and her peers. In fact, Megan claimed her family were the only people she could trust. In explaining why stated that:

Because my mum's a fair person, she know kids don't mean that harm, they can do but she knows they do, coz she knows better my mum, so if they told me something like you're tights look nice, I thought she was jeering me, I go back to my mum and she said, she was just saying they look nice.

8.9 Summary: what role mobility?

This case study reveals the long term effects of Megan's turbulence upon her schooling experiences. What has been presented is the sense of dislocation and isolation that Megan has experienced throughout her schooling life. The frequent movement associated with her traveller lifestyle has resulted in gaps in her education which have had an accumulative impact in creating a chasm in which it can be seen to be very difficult to bridge. Whereas Megan was able to forge a place within the informal territories of the playground at Hollybush school, with respect to her other traveller peers and their shared love of horse culture, this was impossible to bridge into the classroom. This was due to the values associated with Megan's cultural background clashing with the values of the formal territories of the school. It is in fact difficult to disentangle the cultural impact from that of the turbulent impact in affecting Megan's schooling experiences. For example in the traveller community horses have symbolic value rooted in the traditions of gypsy/traveller culture (Bancroft, 2005). The importance of horses for Megan is clearly evident. The value of horses can be seen to play out in that Megan is withdrawn from school during the summer term in order to attend horse fairs as an integral part of traveller culture. However this time out of school in addition to other gaps in schooling between leaving and joining new schools can be seen to have dramatically impacted upon her educational progress and as such she was very behind other children in literacy and numeracy: a gap which has only increased with her transition into

secondary schooling. The result is that by year eight, Megan was unable to access the curriculum of her peers. This has hampered Megan from developing relationships with other children in the class to the extent that her teacher describes her as a 'burden' on her peers and Megan struggled to find a seat-mate and sat on a desk by herself at the back of the classroom. She was also isolated from her teachers, because whilst they sympathise for her circumstances they feel unable to teach her. As such she can be seen to be totally displaced in the territories of classroom without the support of her LSA- the only person within school in which she had built a bond with.

There have also been more sinister effects of this cultural clash which have been demonstrated through the prejudice and discriminatory behaviour of other pupils at the school, reflecting the kind of prejudice Travellers frequently experience in society (Levinson and Sparkes, 2006). As a result Megan had no true friends in her secondary school, at least not 'friends of character' which Pahl (1998) described as necessary in order to develop healthy relationships and self image. Instead Megan has had to make do with the inconsistent acts of 'kindness' from Rosie or Ally who could just as easily ignore her as talk to her.

If Megan felt displaced at junior school then this was exacerbated in secondary school whose size has made her sense of insignificance all the more intense. Whilst at primary school Megan had some rights of access in the playground through the horse fair territories of her friends, now paradoxically Megan felt the territories of the playground were even more off limits than the classroom. This is because Megan felt a 'loner' and without friends to interact with there was no place for her and instead she must wait outside the classroom for the doors to open for class, and she is let into the classroom territories even if her inclusion is only perfunctory. Megan's case illustrates the integral value of peers in granting or (for Megan) denying access into the territories of school. Given her experiences, that she is able to maintain a self valuing identity of sorts in relation to numeracy reflected her positive attitude, as well as family endorsement and LSA support.

9. Robin Case Study

9.1 Background

9.1.1 Robin Profile

I met Robin when he was in year 6 at Ivy school. Robin lived at home with his mother, father and two older brothers in Thornton having moved a year and a half previously from a small town, Hutton, in central England, over 200 miles away. Robin did not claim free school meals, but had previously been eligible during the 18 months of his father's redundancy.

9.1.2 School background prior to moving

Robin's previous school St Paul's was a larger than average sized primary drawing mostly from within catchment. Most recent Ofsted reports suggest the socio-demographic make up of the school was fairly high and the proportion of pupils who were eligible for free school meals was well below average. Almost all children were of white ethnic origin and a below average number of children had SEN. The school holds a significant number of national awards, related to the curriculum. These include the Artsmark Gold, Sportsmark and Healthy Schools status. The overall evaluation for the school concluded:

The headteacher's strong inspirational leadership underpins the work of this **very good school**. [original emphasis] The quality of education is very good and the school provides very good value for money. The ethos for learning is excellent, teaching is very good, pupils make consistently good progress and achieve highly. Pupils with special educational needs and those who are more able are supported and challenged very effectively. (Ofsted, 2007)

The school was performance orientated having been run by what Robin's mum Lorraine described as 'an old school' style head teacher who was more

focussed upon pushing up standards of higher attaining children than focusing upon targeted human resources towards children with special educational needs. This was frustrating for Lorraine as Robin has speech and hearing difficulties resulting from total deafness in his right ear. Nevertheless she admired the strong academic ethos of the school which she recalled placed a heavy burden upon parents with regards their children's homework:

It was academically a lot more demanding [than Ivy], we used to get reading every night weekly spellings, maths homework at least once a week, projects kicked in yr 1. The older they got the spellings increased in difficulty and number of them.

The high SATs standards achieved in the school was a point of significant concern for Lorraine upon having to relocate:

The fact that we were leaving a successful school, that was another big thing to me.

9.1.3 Reasons for moving

Robin's experience of moving school was clearly significant for him, so much so that he remembered the date clearly. When asked when he moved Robin's response was:

In February, the 28th. I started here er February the 28th.

This is unsurprising as the move was associated with a stressful and traumatic time for the family, in that Robin's father lost his job. After an anxious period of some months job hunting he eventually got a job in the local area of Ivy school but in a town some 200 miles from his original home (and school). Robin was quite clear on the reasons for the move and was aware the move was out of necessity as opposed to choice:

Well because my dad lost his job and he got a new job in Whitewater and it ended up being a long way to go up and down, at the beginning and end of the week.

Robin's attitude towards the move reflected an appreciation of the 'family good'. However, his mother was very concerned about the impact of the move upon his social development. This to her was the most difficult aspect of moving schools for him:

It took him years to, in fact it only really happened about a year before we moved where his circle of friends seemed to get stronger and he'll go knock on their door. In that respect to uproot him was horrendous because he was only really finding his feet and consolidating a group of friends and getting the party invites and then of course we had to pull him out of all that and that was a horrible feeling as a parent just to whip him away from all that knowing that he doesn't find making friends easy.

Lorraine clearly felt anxiety about Robin making friends in a new locality. In the interview, Robin was not ready to talk about his social relationships with peers and his memories from St Paul's were limited:

- Robin:** Well, when I was leaving they were planning on putting projectors in yr 5 and 6 classrooms, but not interactive whiteboards.
- CB:** Right, erm can you tell me anything else about it (...) The people there, the lessons.
- Robin:** Well I can barely remember anything.
- CB:** Really?
- Robin:** Well it was over a year ago.
- CB:** Yeah. Is it all like hazy?
- Robin:** Mmmm, barely remember anything.
- CB:** Really that's interesting. (...) Did you have friends there, did you have many friends?
- Robin:** Um, don't remember that one today.
- CB:** Don't remember.
- CB:** Can you remember how you felt when your mum and dad told you you had to leave that school?
- Robin:** Er, dunno.
- CB:** You cant remember whether you felt happy or sad about leaving?
- Robin:** No.

Given Robin's precise memory of his starting date at Ivy his forgetfulness about his friendships or leaving or his wish not to talk about them may suggest that leaving St Nicholas was painful, his only recall was of factual information regarding the ICT provision at the school. It may be that any emotional

attachment to the school was subsumed beneath a pragmatic acceptance of the family situation or as a coping strategy to adapt to his new school.

Lorraine provided a background to the pressure upon the family concerning the material and pragmatic difficulties associated with what was clearly a difficult move for the entire family:

Very unwelcome move, end of 2002 my husband was made redundant... we lived under a huge question mark for must be two years so in the end when he was told his number was up, in a lot of ways it was kind of a relief. But we never dreamt it would be 18 months before he got another job. For the kids as well it was hugely unsettling coz they didn't know what would happen next, none of us wanted to move, we were close to my parents I mean 5 miles from their front door was the furthest I've ever been... So 18 months later this job popped up, he works in Whitewater which is extortionately expensive, then of course we couldn't sell the house so it was another 7, 8 months. So we explored every possibility, and we thought can we part exchange and everyone we approached turned us down. It was a long drawn out process...with nothing else coming up we didn't have a lot of choice but to move here, we didn't know anything about Thornton.

Despite best efforts Robin's family clearly felt they had little choice over any of the factors associated with the move in relation to the job, the house and the area. Robin's mum had grown up in Hutton and had a strong social network or friends and family. It was clearly an unwelcome step for all involved which must have compounded the experience of starting a new school for Robin.

9.1.4 Starting at Ivy school

Regarding joining school, Robin was clearer in his recollections. His primary descriptor for his experience of his first day at Ivy was "scary". Robin clearly shared his mother's anxiety about the move because it was an unwelcome choice for him too:

I didn't want to come here. I didn't want to go to school.

His first experiences with the other children on his first day at Ivy were ambivalent. However, he was paired with a pupil on the first day who remained a friend:

CB: What were the children like?

Robin: (...) Errr

CB: Were they nice or didn't they really make much effort?

Robin: (...) Errr nice they were, (...) apart from two of them.

CB: Which ones?

Robin: They aren't here any more, they aren't.

CB: They aren't here?

Robin: No, they weren't nice.

CB: No. Erm, how long did it take to make friends with Danny?

Robin: Well, Mrs Rolly actually told him to look after me for the day.

It is apparent Robin was aware of his teacher's interventions in his early interactions with Danny. Lorraine acknowledged that this pairing was appropriate and it reflected the school's close consideration of pastoral needs.

9.2 Out of school interests

9.2.1 Socially isolated out of school

Robin took part in very few social activities whilst at Ivy and seemed to spend all his time at home watching TV or playing on the computer. He preferred to do this alone though as he got quite frustrated with the background noise when someone else was in the same room. However being very talented with ICT, Lorraine acknowledged that she sometimes got him to help her if she ran into technical difficulties;

Robin's very good with computers so usually he'd be able to sort out any problems, although I have stumped him a few times.

Lorraine put Robin's lack of social interaction out of school down to preference:

He does like his own company and he seems very content in his own company.

In a year and a half Danny had only been over for tea once and another time Robin had gone to Danny's for tea. This seems to represent a very limited bridge between the home and school in relation to peer and friendship relationships:

- CB:** Do you ever stay at his house, or he stays at yours?
Robin: Well I've been round his before and he's been round at mine.
CB: Oh right, so you go round each others houses occasionally?
Robin: Mmmmm
CB: And do you have other friends outside of school?
Robin: Don't think so.
CB: No, just your friends in school?
Robin: Mmmmm.

9.3 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

Within the school environment, Lorraine's speculations seemed to be supported in that Robin was rarely found socialising with his peers. He came across as a shy child and quite quiet. In the playground Robin was often to be found with Danny, who seemed to be his only real friend. It was notable that they appeared to share a similar disposition. Danny was also quiet and quite private and within lessons when they sat together the two didn't engage in a lot of conversation. Robin was asked about his friendship with Danny:

- CB:** What's he like? [Danny]
Robin: OK
CB: Yeah, what sort of things is he into? Tell me about him?
Robin: Errr, well I'm not very sure what he likes.
CB: Does he have the same interests as you? Or are you both into different things?
Robin: Dunno.

It was apparent that Robin had difficulties in articulating feelings and emotions or he was not prepared to talk to me about them, and as such it may be that he found it difficult to communicate the foundations of his friendship with Danny,

but there was one comment which may be significant: when Robin was asked why he was friends with Danny he responded:

Well, he likes me.

This revealed a lack of confidence about his worth as a friend as it suggests that as opposed to making an autonomous choice in his friendships, Robin felt the peers who would accept him to be limited.

9.3.1 Peer group exclusion

Robin's feelings towards his only friendship in the school have to be couched in terms of his feelings towards other pupils in the year which were: "*Er, OK*" apart from one child who:

Robin: Well (...) he likes to (...) well basically he likes to annoy, quite annoy quite a lot of people.

CB: Really? He deliberately tries to annoy you?

Robin: Well I'm not sure, but I think because he's been doing it to me before and at other people.

CB: Really? Does he tease you then?

Robin: Well before he kept on putting everyone's hoods up on them I think before on their coats. I think that happened before.

It is clear from this that Robin certainly had some experience of low level bullying upon starting at Ivy school. Ridge and Millar (2000) discuss the importance for children in care of looser forms of social ties such as friend's siblings or friends of friends which represent a protective shield against bullying. Robin seemed to have lacked such forms of protection and was arguably more vulnerable to this form of peer exclusion as he remained on the peripheries of the social hierarchies in the school with only limited social bonds at his disposal to act as a protective resource.

9.4 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

9.4.1 Mixed feelings towards school work

Robin had a varied attitude towards lessons. He enjoyed those lessons which he performed well in as he felt confident with the learning challenge:

I like maths and I find science very easy.

Another such lesson which he enjoyed and did well in was ICT. All the lessons that Robin did well in required a methodical and logical approach to the learning activity. The formal aspects of school were clearly important for Robin at least in relation to the subjects he liked and did well in. This was reflected in Robin's response when asked his favourite things about Ivy school. This concerned the ICT resources:

Robin: Errrr, it's better than my old one.

CB: Yeah? How come?

Robin: At my old one, there weren't interactive whiteboards in every single class room.

However, Robin had a more negative experience of lessons involving a creative or philosophical approach, subjects such as Art; RE, History and Literacy. When asked why he didn't enjoy these lessons he replied:

Robin: Because I cant barely enjoy it.

CB: You don't really enjoy it?

Robin: I find it hard to think up what to do.

When asked about the significance of the various subjects he studied at school, Robin presented a nuanced account of their relative importance which conformed to an assessment and target's based culture:

CB: Do you think that school work's important, or not really?

Robin: No. I don't think all of it's important.

CB: No? You don't think all of it is important?

Robin: No because, because RE, History and Geography, they aren't as important at the moment.

CB: Right, so what subjects are important?

Robin: Um, English, maths and science, they are the ones which we do SATs tests on.

CB: Yeah. Are they important to you?

Robin: The year nine SATs are actually more important, because they actually depend on what GCSE's you do.

On the whole (with the exception of Literacy) Robin felt confident in his abilities in lessons which he perceived as having value to his educational career. And, he appeared confident with regards to the lessons he enjoyed, as opposed to the informal aspects of schooling and his friendships.

9.4.2 Participation in lessons

In relation to Robin's attitudes towards learning styles, it was apparent that for the lessons he enjoyed, Robin preferred to work "*probably on my own*" as opposed to with a partner or a group. This was supported in class room observation whereby Robin would often get on with his work without conversation with peers and was more likely distracted in a world of his own than in conversation with others:

The teacher asks children to get into groups. Robin doesn't seem to be making moves to find a partner but instead sits and stares into space. He is sat at the front due to his hearing difficulties and the seat next to him is vacant. However, he doesn't turn around to make eye contact with any potential partners. No one is volunteering to work with Robin so the teacher calls Mikey over to work with him who is currently messing about with his seat mate. (Mikey is a bit disruptive in lessons and I wonder if this is a ploy to keep an eye on him and maybe SR considers Robin a good influence?) [RE lesson]

There were other lessons, however in which Robin didn't feel so confident in managing on his own. When asked whether he liked to work alone for all lessons he replied:

Well it depends what work it is because some work it needs help with it.

This applied to "*mainly Literacy*" as the only subject Robin identified as 'important' in which he felt anxious about his abilities. However, 'help' in this context didn't refer to friends or seatmates in the class but rather from the teacher:

CB: What sort of people, if you did get stuck would you ask?

Robin: Well for one thing I would ask the teacher.

CB: Would you ever ask any of the children?

Robin: Well I'm not sure?

CB: You might do, or not?

Robin: Probably not.

Echoing his reluctance to work with peers in the class, Robin was clearly not comfortable in seeking help from them either. This may be in part on account of his hearing difficulties making it more difficult to engage in conversation. Furthermore, his seating position at the front of the class on the left, gave him less options concerning interaction with children around him. However, Robin's reluctance and lack of effort in building social relationships with peers could, perhaps, also be seen to reflect a more fundamental anxiety about his own worth as a friend. This is because whilst Robin made little effort to seek or give help to peers in class, he could be seen to display more active attempts to seek the endorsement of teachers. One way in which Robin did get involved as an active and contributory member of the classroom was through the utilisation of his ICT skills. On several occasions Robin volunteered without prompting to help sort out audio-visual equipment. When asked about this it seemed to be a subject upon which Robin was particularly enthusiastic:

Robin: Well basically it's very simple you just follow the colours you do, because each (port?) has a different colour.

CB: Oh right so were they put in the wrong places then?

Robin: No, well originally when she couldn't get the video to work it was plugged into the DVD port, so that had to be input from the back of the DVD into the DVD.

CB: Oh right, so it was put in the wrong hole, in the DVD one?

Robin: And also watching one video she had to actually hold the audio wire because the sound was dodgy, inside the box.

CB: So how do you know about that sort of stuff then? That technical stuff?

Robin: Because I actually saw, because she was actually holding it she was, because the sound kept on going and kept on going. I think it might be a dodgy connection. It isn't the cable because it got changed.

It seemed that Robin valued this opportunity to be helpful in class, when asked whether he was often helpful, Robin replied 'yes' and asked whether the teachers liked this replied "I think so". Robin was then asked if he liked it when the teacher was happy and he proceeded to describe an occasion where the ICT teacher had been very unhappy with the class and the positive impact of his helping:

- Robin:** Because Mr Hicks when he's angry, he actually gets very angry.
- CB:** Right so do you like that?
- Robin:** Well no, but when he's happy it's actually very good.
- CB:** Right, so you prefer it when they're happy?
- Robin:** Yes and he likes to play a game he does, on the board with a timer (laughs)
- CB:** Cool, so you like that game?
- Robin:** Well it's actually his idea of trying to keep us in tomorrow break time.
- CB:** Really?
- Robin:** Yes, because loads of people aren't doing what they're told.
- CB:** Right. So do you think maybe you do things to make him happy to make him like the class?
- Robin:** Well probably.

9.5 Transition to the Maple

9.5.1 Robin's academic performances

I followed up Robin three years later when he was in year eight at the Maple. Robin was currently placed in the middle set for English, and the top sets for Maths, and Science. His prior attainment in terms of key stage 2 SATs results were in line with the national target of level 4 for English and were level 5 which is the maximum awardable grade in Science and Maths. Robin's most recent assessments are provided below. Both in attainment and attitude numbers ascend in value and in attainment levels A is the highest and C lowest. Attainment grades are measured by key stage tests and teacher assessment in English, maths and science and purely teacher assessment in all other subjects:

End of Spring Term 08

Subject	Attainment	Attitude
English	5B	4*
Maths	8C	5*
Science	6A	4*
IT	6B	4*
Drama	5A	3*
Art	4A	4*
DT	6C	4*
French	5B	4*
Geography	6A	4*
History	6C	5*
Music	6C	4*
PE	5B	4*
RE	5B	4*

To be on line for the KS3 targets, pupils should be attaining around 5B or 5C at the end of the second term in year eight (when these assessments were taken). These results suggest that Robin was attaining on target for RE, PE, English and French. In History, Music, DT and IT Robin was achieving above target and for Geography, Science and particularly Maths, Robin's achievement were significantly above average. These results demonstrate that Robin was considerably higher attaining than the other case study pupils in the sample. Similarly his attitude results were a lot higher than all the other case study pupils. His scores show a majority response of 4 out of 5 in nine subjects which indicates that his attitude was good. In Maths and Geography Robin's attitude was considered by his teachers to be excellent. Robin's lowest attitude score was in drama where he was considered by his teacher to have a 'satisfactory' attitude. These formal learning outcomes will be reflected on later in the discussion.

9.5.2 Comparison with previous move

As with his previous interview Robin was vague in his recollections of the start of school at the Maple.

All I remember is some of it was Ok and some of it I got bored. I can't exactly remember what I did since it's ages ago.

However, he was clearer that joining the Maple was a more positive experience than moving to Ivy school, due to sharing the experience of being new with others, particularly those people he knew:

CB: Did you know anyone from Ivy moving up at the same time?

Robin: Yeah Danny, Mike and Mark.

CB: Did that make a difference, knowing someone else?

Robin: Yeah because you go where you don't know anyone it's different to where you know a few of them.

CB: How's it different?

Robin: Well it's more confidence in talking to people.

CB: Did you prefer it this time round moving to the Maple?

Robin: Well it's easier because it was everyone else's first day at the Maple.

CB: So how does that make it easier for you?

Robin: Because we're all at the same stage being new in the school rather than I'm being new in the school and they've been there for a few years.

His mother, Lorraine did not have much contact with Ivy school previously and did not have much connection to the Maple once Robin started there, despite his two older brothers attending the same school. However, she felt that the transition to secondary was a lot better experience for him than when he started at Ivy. Reflecting anxiety about the move, she took no news from the school to be good news:

He's seen Peter do it, he's seen John do it and I think your attitude changes a bit as a parent on that and I've never made it a big scary thing. Certainly there was no feedback from school that there was any problems and certainly I wasn't aware of any problems, he seemed to take it in his stride. I mean Robin is the one I've worried the most about because of his problems.

9.6 Out of School Activities

9.6.1 *Unsuccessful attempts to participate*

As when he was at Ivy school, Robin did not take part in many activities outside of school and spent a lot of time in his own company at home. When asked about his favourite place he replied:

- CB:** Where do you like being best?
Robin: I dunno, I just spend a lot of time sitting down watching TV
CB: Where?
Robin: In my bedroom
CB: Why is that the best?
Robin: Because it means that I don't get disturbed by my brothers that much.
CB: Do you prefer doing that on your own or with friends?
Robin: Well I'm on my own most of the time.
CB: Why?
Robin: I don't know (...) because they're already doing things.

The final line suggests that it was not out of choice that Robin spent so much time alone. Within the home space Robin appeared to be more comfortable in his own company as he found his brothers to be 'disturbing'. His interest in ICT had increased over the last couple of years and his mother Lorraine claimed he spent a lot of time on the computer or play station. From her account, his skills have also been built upon and he has generated a sophisticated understanding of computer software and hardware:

He's a bit of a home bird erm anything technical, we have the tour de France on every evening and I record it I can manage that, but then Robin will copy the DVD and edit all the ads out... Anything technical. So Peter's just got a new laptop so there was something to cannibalise and Robin's eyes just lit up and he was telling me about all the different wires which were in it.

9.6.2 *Social capital links with the church*

It was evident that faith was an important aspect of family life for Lorraine and she was keen to find a local church for the family, representing a link into the local community. However, this proved impossible:

Finding a church which we wanted was not an easy issue which was important to us as a family, what Jason and I would settle for, the kids didn't like, they [the local church congregation] were standoffish, they weren't friendly.

As a consequence Loraine and her husband felt they had to look further a-field before they found a church group in which they were comfortable. Yet this church was in another county and as such could not provide links for the family into the local community. This is interesting with reference to Coleman's (1988) notion of social capital, as it suggests that 'local community social capital networks can extend beyond the immediate proximity of home location, suggesting 'home' communities might exist beyond town and even county borders.

With regards the social capital potential of the church for Robin, there was a suggestion from his mother's account that Robin would like to be more involved in social activities or events. She told me he had demonstrated interest in getting involved in several church social activities but he was prevented from doing so due to issues of availability, access, and health. When asked whether he was involved with any social activities arranged by the church Lorraine responded:

No, the relevant age group he's for at the moment meet out of area, but in September he can join YP [young persons church social group] which is year's 9 to 2nd year six so he can join then. So, he'll move into that and he seems quite keen, strangely enough, more so than his brothers.

When asked whether he did any other out of school activities she replied:

That will start more as he moves into YP in September. He had the chance to go to [residential trip away with the church] but it was just after his ear op. He wanted to go but it was too difficult.

On one occasion Robin made an attempt to mix with other children from the school in an informal way, but this wasn't successful and informal socialising with children in the local area, was not something supported by his mother. Although it's notable she did not prevent him trying to join in:

I think he did once want to go down to the skate park one evening to meet some friends, but he hasn't asked to do it again. So whether they weren't there or whether he wasn't keen on it. It's not something I particularly want to encourage with them. You do worry about who they're mixing with and what not at times.

These accounts suggest that Robin had grown in confidence over the last couple of years, in at least attempting to get involved in out of school social activities, albeit, that such attempts bore little fruition in terms of developing out of school social networks. Clearly Robin recognised the potential of church in broadening his social network, but he had been frustrated, by his hearing difficulties. But it also reflects the isolation of the family more generally concerning their geographic positioning which is quite out of the way of local amenities and the difficulty in building bridges into the local community. Lorraine compares this experience of being cut-off with her previous home where she felt more assimilated into the local community:

Both schools [prior to the move] were 5 minutes walk, I could walk to the town centre I could walk to Asda if I needed to, and we had a small shopping parade on our estate so everything was really accessible. Coming here school was 2 miles away, Asda's 8 miles away which is a big issue for me, I mean Sainsbury's got its uses but you can't go regularly, it's too expensive. Dentist is non existent.

This has lead to Lorraine feeling a feeling of dislocation, even after having lived in the area for three years. When asked what the local community was like she replied:

I don't really know a lot about it. For me it would have been easier if we'd moved when the kids were younger to get to know people at the school gates. I was told by the head-teacher I was never down with the gate gossips. I was never a gate gossip who are down [with the school] there. So there's a few parents I've got to know, but not a lot of their friends.

As with Robin, so Lorraine also seems isolated in her local community which may explain her anxiety about who Robin mixes with. Her experiences of integration such as visiting the local church group may have had a negative impact in challenging her trust in possible new social networks, with the result that she had become hesitant to get to know parents at the school gate. This

sense of mistrust may be exacerbated by fond memories of life prior to the move in the town in which she grew up.

9.7 Informal aspects of school: social relationships

9.7.1 Improved social ties

Despite Robin's good attitude ratings from teachers, it was notable that he demonstrated some ambivalence in his more general feelings towards school life at the Maple. When asked what made him feel most good about himself at school he struggled to identify any particular aspect:

Robin: I don't know, I don't really like school much.

CB: Don't you?

Robin: I get fed up getting out of bed in the morning, and when school starts and your hand hurts because you're not used to writing.

This suggests that he found it difficult to acclimatise to school culture specifically at the beginning of the school year when he was out of the routine of life at school. However, his social relationships at school were stronger. Robin's friendship with Danny has stood the test of time and survived the transition to secondary school. In addition, Robin claimed another three good friends: Dave, Mike and Mark. Similarly to the previous interview Robin was not so vocal about the factors cementing his friendships but his evidence for the strength of the friendship was that he saw more of Danny out of school than any of the others. However, when asked what made Danny his best friend Robin replied:

Robin: I dunno, he doesn't annoy me that much, he doesn't annoy me as much as my other friends can do sometimes.

CB: How do they annoy you?

Robin: Well it depends, because sometimes they tend to be better than me at lessons I'm not that good in. Other times it's the other way round.

Whilst this comment speaks little of the emotional connection between Robin and his friends, it reveals that he is competitive in his judgement of friends.

However, these judgements may be seen as part of the normal aspects of friendship. They also support his attitude and attainment data, however, in suggesting that performance in relation to formal learning outcomes is a key aspect of Robin's quest for self value and an intrinsic aspect of the value system of his social group.

Robin's socio-gram marked the 4 boys close to him with Danny being the closest and clustered together in one corner suggesting that they were all good friends with each other. However, regarding the strength of these ties Robin could not recall an occasion in which he had discussed a personal matter with any of his friends, and speculated that the only people he could trust with a personal matter would be his parents. When asked about who he could trust to discuss an issue with school or work he replied;

A teacher or tutor, pretty much anyone who could do something a teacher or tutor, pretty much anyone who could do something.

Robin felt pretty ambivalent to the other pupils in his year but he was clear that he was more socially integrated at the Maple than at Ivy school:

- CB:** What do you think of the other pupils in the year?
Robin: Well some of them do disrupt lessons.
CB: Do you like them?
Robin: Not all the time but sometimes they just get on with their work generally fine.
CB: What do you think about the pupils at the school generally?
Robin: Well I don't think much about them.
CB: What about in comparison with Ivy?
Robin: Better (...) I've got more friends.

However, despite having a small group of friends, he did seem to consider himself more on the periphery of the informal aspects of schooling and judged others mainly according to their orientation to learning in formal lessons.

9.7.2 Lacking an informal territory

As with Liza, Robin lacked identification with any specific playground territory and although lunchtimes and break times were important to him, as the only time he was able to be with all his friends, he tended to drift around the playground:

Robin: I just walk around most of the time, I don't usually stay in the same place all throughout playground.

CB: Why?

Robin: Because it's easier to walk about, I walk quite a bit, I walk about without realising it sometimes.

CB: So is there a place which feels more comfortable to be in than anywhere else?

Robin: No... maybe outside the maths block because the older people don't tend to go there that much.

This suggests that he is confined to the spaces that he feels comfortable in, although it's notable that some spaces seemed to Robin to be more accessible than others. He was sensitive to the spaces that older and more powerful children occupied and avoided them. The final line suggests a lack of autonomy over time spent in this area, it is a default choice as opposed to a proactive one which would have been inferred from an alternate reason such as 'outside the maths block because the younger people do tend to go there'.

9.8 Formal aspects of school: classroom experience

9.8.1 Awareness of the pressure of performance culture

Robin could be seen be more 'at home' within the formal territories of school. Similarly to Ivy school, Robin demonstrated a sensitivity to the pressure of a performance and attainment based culture at the Maple. However, this didn't cause him undue anxiety as he saw himself as competent with regards to his position in the attainment hierarchy:

CB: What do you think it means to do well at the Maple?

Robin: Well it means that you get better grades at the end of your GCSEs and stuff.

CB: Do you think doing well at school means the same at the Maple as it does at Ivy?

Robin: There's higher expectations here of us.

CB: And is that good or bad?

Robin: Well it's good if you are very good at stuff or bad if you aren't that good, because then you have to do more work.

CB: So what about you, where are you then?

Robin: In the middle.

Having felt on the peripheries of classroom culture at the Ivy, it may be that being 'in the middle' felt like quite a secure place to be, yet in terms of the attainment as demonstrated in terms of his formal learning outcomes, Robin was clearly above the middle in most subjects. Whilst this suggests Robin underestimates his abilities, the following discussion illustrates Robin's confidence in his all round abilities in subjects had grown since being at Ivy. This included the subjects: English, geography and history amongst those in which Robin's confidence had grown in his abilities and therefore enjoyed, whereas previously in Ivy he felt incompetent in these subjects:

CB: So what about the lessons here then, do you enjoy them at the Maple?

Robin: Yeah most of them.

CB: Which ones?

Robin: Pretty much all the ones I can actually do the work in (laughs).

CB: Which are those?

Robin: Maths, Science, English (...) IT, Geography, History and probably some others.

CB: What makes you enjoy those lessons?

Robin: They can be very easy and involve play games in them.

It is significant that this list of lessons he enjoys had expanded from when Robin was at the Ivy, perhaps reflecting a greater confidence in a wider range of abilities.

9.8.2 Helping as a bridge into classroom participation

Perhaps connected to this greater confidence in lessons, Robin also demonstrated a greater keenness towards group work activities as opposed to working in isolation, his preferred mode of working at Ivy school:

Robin: Yeah I prefer work in groups, because it's much easier to think of something better than with just one person.

CB: What is it about group work that you like then?

Robin: You don't have to think of everything that happens, its all team effort rather than just individual.

This is interesting in that Robin's confidence in peer group participation even extended to lessons where his seat-mates were not his friends: This was because for some streamed lessons Robin was not with his friends- such as English, and sometimes Robin was seated away from his friends, due to his hearing requirement to be at the front of the class, however, at times the teacher relaxed this rule:

CB: Who do you sit next to that you get on well with?

Robin: Most people, pretty much whoever I sit next to I like, but in some lessons we don't actually have a seating plan, which the teachers are meant to keep to.

CB: so who do you sit next to then?

Robin: My friends, Mike, Dave, Mark and Danny.

CB: Do you think the people you sit next to can have an impact on how much you like the lesson?

Robin: It can do because if you sit next to someone who doesn't like it or asks stupid questions, it can get very annoying.

Here Robin could be seen to voice frustration towards seat-mates who he felt didn't share his values with regards the importance of learning outcomes. However, the fact he did like "pretty much whoever I sit next to" suggests the teacher had selected seat-mates who shared Robin's learner orientations. Yet these ties with seat-mates were loose and he didn't seem to have bonded with seat-mates in any particular class, as when asked who he usually sat next to replied: 'so many I can't remember their names'. One of the reasons Robin might have felt more confident with his peers in the classroom related to his disposition to 'help' other children in the class:

CB: Do you ever ask for help?

Robin: Well depends, I'm alright, sometimes teachers ask me [to help].

CB: But you never ask people for help?

Robin: Not really, most of the time I can just do the work.

Robin was sensitive in assessing when to offer to help because sometimes his seat-mates may have needed help but were reluctant to ask or might not appreciate the offer:

CB: Do you think it's important to be helpful?

Robin: Well it depends because sometimes they might ask you to help themselves and sometimes they might not.

Robin himself had mixed feelings about helping as he appreciated it might not always be in the helpee's best interests, but from a personal point of view he felt it was an effective way to protect against victimisation:

CB: How does it make you feel helping?

Robin: Well it depends because sometimes they probably don't even know what it means, like when I've been copying and pasting they sometimes don't know what it means.

CB: So does that feel good?

Robin: Yeah sometimes.

CB: In what way?

Robin: Well it means that they aren't stuck in it means that they get their work done quicker.

CB: But does it make you feel good?

Robin: I think it probably does, it means that less people hate you.

It is clear that the classroom felt a safer place than it did in Ivy school where Robin had experience of bullying and little interaction with others. At Maple Robin felt he had something to offer which had built his confidence and enabled him to build loose ties with seat-mates which may not bridge into the playground but which enabled him to experience the classroom in a more positive participative way. However, his last comment is particularly significant because it suggests a sensitivity as to how pupils felt about him.

9.8.3 The trade- off of helping

Alongside the positive effect of Robin's confidence in helping seat-mates in terms of feeling more at ease within the classroom, he felt, at times, this had a negative effect upon his own learning which it seemed caused some frustration. In elaborating further upon how he felt about helping he commented:

Robin: Well in some ways it's fine but in others I don't like it much, coz sometimes I just get fed up doing the same thing over and over again... sometimes I don't really want to do it, because I've got my own work to do, gets a bit irritating because well dunno, I've probably done more of other people's work than mine over the last few weeks.

CB: So why don't you say no to them?

Robin: Well I do occasionally, but it's much easier to say 'No' for people over the other side of the room.

Robin obviously felt it quite difficult to say no when his seat-mates asked for help, underlining the importance he may attach to being able to contribute within the classroom through helping his peers.

The following classroom observation is a good example of the conflicting effects of Robin's narrative as 'helper' in terms of how they play out the performative aspects of his classroom activity. The excerpt is from a top set Geography lesson, one of Robin's most high attaining subjects. He is sat in front of one of his friends Dave and next to Annie a looser social tie:

Pupils have to work in pairs to draw a map of the world and label correctly the given countries and capitals. Robin and his seat-mate Annie get on with the task and take it in turns to draw on the paper and discuss the task. Their conversation is limited but all on task in contrast to the boys; Dave and his seatmate behind who are discussing the task in a more light-hearted and jovial manner. A couple of times Dave calls to Robin and he turns round, smiles and exchanges a comment with them. Robin answers a question and then turns back round. They spend approximately 15 minutes on the activity. On another occasion Dave calls him again and asks him something but Robin shakes his head. When the teacher calls the class to order to go through activity Robin turns and faces him immediately. The teacher goes through the questions and Annie puts her hand up for most of the answers whilst Robin puts his hand up occasionally. Robin and Annie get the highest mark in the class and when the teacher tells the class this Robin smiles. I wonder why he didn't put up his hand as he obviously knew the answers.

This excerpt reveals the inclusive effect of helping Annie and Dave. Here Robin can be seen to be far more participative in the classroom activity than he was at Ivy school. The four children all share a pro-learning classroom narrative, and

there is an element of competitiveness between the two pairs such that whilst they on one occasion will share their answers, on other occasions Robin is reluctant to help. When questioned about the activity, Robin was clear that he had contributed most to the pair's success and yet in terms of external validation from the teacher, Robin couldn't translate his contribution into teacher praise as it was Annie who put up her hand to answer all the questions correctly, thus taking most of the credit. This is something Robin was keen to point out to me:

CB: I noticed that today in geography you did very well with Annie didn't you, top of the class?

Robin: Well yes (laughs) well actually the amount I did. She actually did the most of it, but ended up putting things in the wrong place, like New Zealand above Australia and Japan somewhere else.

CB: But you still did very well?

Robin: Well I know, only because I know so many countries.

At the same time as 'helping' Annie in correcting the mistakes she made, he also had to negotiate the demands of Dave. Robin obviously felt that this process needed mediation. On a couple of occasions he could be seen to have complied with the request and answered Dave's questions. Yet there was clearly a tipping point whereby he also felt that Dave tried to take advantage of his help in making an unreasonable request:

Dave asked me to draw his map but I didn't.

It seems that this trade-off of helping may have had a knock on effect upon the way Robin felt towards the lessons ICT, Maths and Science which previously he used to enjoy at Ivy. He was less enthusiastic about these subjects:

CB: Do you still like maths?, coz you really used to like maths didn't you

Robin: Erm yeaaaaah

CB: What about science, that was one you used to like?

Robin: Hmmm (unenthusiastic noise) yeaaaaah

CB: Do you like that still?

Robin: (...) Hmmmmmm, nerrrrrrrr

CB: average?

Robin: Yeah.

CB: And ICT that was another one, I remember you used to mend the equipment when the teacher couldn't get it to work (Both laugh).

Robin: Depends if it involves watching a DVD or not. I don't really like doing work most of the time.

It was notable however, that this lack of enthusiasm was not reflected in Robin's attitude and attainment assessments. Rather these feelings may be relative in contrast to the subjects in which Robin is able to sit next to his friends. In explaining why it was that Robin had lost enthusiasm for the subjects, the following conversation was illuminating:

CB: Does it make you feel good being good at maths, being good at geography? Does that make you feel good?

Robin: It can do.

CB: When does it make you feel good?

Robin: Only when you're the first one to complete the work.

Contextualising this comment against Robin's earlier mentioned frustrations suggests that helping others may have caused Robin to feel that he can not be the first to finish in his class challenging his position in the classroom hierarchy. In lacking the confidence to speak out in answering questions, Robin may feel that completing work fast may be the only indicator which enables him to get validation from the teacher and the class as to his ability. Therefore, it may be that he felt his status is compromised in devoting time to helping others. It seems that this has had a big impact upon Robin's experience of lessons. But this appears to have been a two edged sword in that he felt more confident and included in lessons he previously felt he couldn't participate in, whilst at the same time he felt it challenged his momentum in lessons he previously worked hard and fast in.

However, whilst Robin could be seen to drift through the playground, in the classroom he has found a way of navigating a 'place' of belonging which enabled him to maintain his quest for self value as a high attaining pupil whilst allaying the threat of those who might 'hate' him doing well in lessons, by helping them.

9.9 Summary: what role mobility?

In summary, it can be seen that Robin's move of home had a number of destabilising effects both for himself and other family members. The major impact for Robin was upon forming secure, trusting, peer friendships. Over time and in relation to the lasting friendship he maintained from Ivy, he has slowly built confidence in his ability to interact with peers in the classroom, both with regards the broader range of his friendship group and in terms of the loose bonds of his seat-mates. When reflecting upon his schooling experience from the point of moving to Ivy, he indicated on the scale of happiness that he was further towards the happy end of the spectrum, than at the point of moving when he was down at the unhappy end of the scale. When asked what brought him closer towards happy he responded:

Time, talking to people, and friends.

However, despite Robin's progress with regards inclusion within the formal territories of the classroom, he is still on the periphery in terms of his experience in the playground. He has found a strategy to participate within class through helping his friends and seat-mates with their work, but unfortunately that comes at a price of compromising his own indicators for validation of worth, through limiting his ability to complete work. He was involved in negotiating a trade-off between his own sense of progress and being accepted. Robin seems to lack a sense of identification with the school and although he has negotiated ways to get by, it is clear he does not feel a sense of belonging to the school community. This lack of belonging is reflected in the loose bonding of his friendship group, which does not offer any bridging into the informal territories of the playground. When asked when he felt the most unhappy at school he responded: 'beginning of the year'. Then when asked when he felt the happiest replied: 'end of the school year'. He also lacked optimism that things might or even could change in the future. When asked if there was anything he could think of to bring him to the happiest end of the scale he responded:

Well maybe the last day of school because you don't have to go back into school. Don't have to wake up early in the morning.

Despite having little attachment to the school Robin is aware that progress has been made since his initial move to Ivy school, and when asked about the prospect of moving school again, he replied as follows:

CB: Would you like to stay here until the end of yr 11?

Robin: Dunno. Well it would be easier than moving schools again because I don't like it. Too much hassle and then there's so much things that are irritating, that annoy me it can be.

CB: What kind of things?

Robin: You get behind at work you do and not always teachers help you to catch up. My brother who's was in year 10 when we moved, for his IT lesson because he didn't do it very easily, he wasn't helped to catch up, where everyone else was, so then he ended up not taking it, which was a shame.

CB: So you think that moving school affects what exams you do?

Robin: Yeah because he had to do the same thing again, do the exact same topics of a subject that he'd already done and then some things get left out.

Robin's sense of dislocation from school can be seen in context of his broader sense of isolation out of school. There is little connection between Robin's home territories and school or even community spheres that he has been able to bridge across successfully. This questions the worth of social capital resources (such as the church,) when they cannot be traded upon to enable a better assimilation into different spheres. Despite this, there have been improvements in Robin's confidence within the peer group at secondary school which can be seen to be broader than it was at primary school, all be it based upon loose as opposed to tightly bonded relationships with his friends and seat-mates. As a result Robin has made several attempts to join in more. He reflects upon lessons learnt from prior experience in offering this in his advice to other children who may move:

Don't just sit in the corner on your own, try to get to know some people.

Of the case study pupils Robin can be seen to be the most successful in navigating a space for belonging and inclusion and as such offsetting any educational penalty. However, his story still represents an only partial success.

Formal learning outcomes are not sufficient for a positive experience of school where a child can still experience isolation and social exclusion in the informal school territories. It is clear that effort alone has not been enough for Robin, in the absence of external support structures through resources from the school and family to aid community bonding he may continue to fit uncomfortably within the school community.

10. Comparator group: Pupils' friends on trust

10.1 Introducing the comparator group

This chapter will explore the experiences and orientations towards friendship, for the friends of the case study turbulent pupils. The purpose of this is so as to provide a point of comparison between friendship as experienced by low income children who have experienced turbulence and those who have not.

Table 9. Friendships and Turbulence of comparator group pupils

Child	Turbulent school move?	Friends in school	School friends out of school	Friends from primary schools	Length in years of longest friendship in school	Friends trusted in 4 key respects
Dave	No	10	5	5	10	3
Mark	No	8	3	4	13	3
Ellen	No	8	3	3	11	2
Kia	No	13	5	5	10	3
Rosie	No	14	4	2	15	2
Shanon	No	9	5	2	13	2
James	No	7	2	1	3	0
Katie	No	5	2	0	2	0
Lorna	No	1	1	1	1	0

The comparator group consisted of pupils drawn from the same friendship groups at the Maple, as the case study pupils. They were selected through data on case study pupils' socio-grams, interviews and through observation in class and in the playground. Although it wasn't possible to gain data on the precise social background of the comparator group, they consisted of pupils who lived in the same street or estate of the case study children (with the exception of

Megan the traveller) and they had socialised with the case study pupils out of school and in some cases attended the same local community club. Housing in these areas reflected a fair reflection of a profile of families from low socio-economic backgrounds. (Lupton, 2003) Six of these pupils; Dave, Mark, Ellen, Kia, Rosie and Shannon had not experienced turbulence in not changing schools outside of the normal joining and leaving ages. They had all lived in the same area all their lives, or else moved to the area by the age of two, prior to having first attended school or nursery. Three of the pupils had turbulent experiences themselves, having moved schools during their primary education, these were: Katie, Lorna and James.

10.2 Feelings about starting secondary school

In general the group's feelings towards the transition to secondary school were positive. All bar Katie and Lorna described moving up to school as "alright" (Dave) or "OK" (Ellen) due to the fact they knew children in their tutor group from their previous school. This served the function of allaying their fears of not knowing anyone and feeling displaced in secondary school. Even in the absence of peers from primary school, local community links were also helpful in the first instance of making friends in the tutor group. Ellen didn't know anyone from her previous school but recognised someone from her social connections outside of school:

I used to go to brownies with my friend, but I hadn't seen her for a while but then we just caught up.

Only two children described feeling very 'nervous' (Katie) or 'scared' (Lorna) as these children had no friends or acquaintances in their tutor group and both had also experienced a turbulent move.

10.3 The significance of the tutor group

The importance of having friends in the same tutor group emerged to be of particular importance in the first year of secondary education:

Because in year seven you're in classes with your tutor, so you get to know people who are with you most of the day so then you kind of make friends with them (Mark).

However, these tutor group based friendships sometimes had the tendency to shift around by year eight, when children were set for more subjects and thus came into contact with pupils from a range of other tutor groups in the year:

When you're in year eight, you start going into groups with different tutors you start to make friends with them more (Kia).

However, the symbolic value of the tutor group appeared to be connected with the significance of the tutor group territory. Pupils clearly felt a sense of territorial ownership over the tutor room space, particularly during informal times, such as break and lunch time when they were able to exercise autonomy over the rules, rites and regulations of this space. All the pupils who were able to, chose to spend their break times in their tutor rooms which it would appear would be their place of preference regardless of the season or weather:

Yeah we're allowed in our tutor at break and lunch, if its' wet and cold or even if it's sunny we're allowed in there. (Rosie)

Two pupils from the group complained that their tutor forbade access into the tutor room during informal time. They felt this was very unfair, and the other pupils of the group sympathised for this situation;

Most people are lucky enough to be allowed in their tutor and if they're allowed in their tutor then most people hang out in their tutor, but like we're not, so we kind of just wander round (Shannon).

However, this disadvantage enabled other children to exert their autonomy to a greater extent in negotiating with the teacher to allow friends from other tutor groups access into their tutor room;

We asked and were allowed to bring in other friends as long as they're not loads of them (Mark.)

It became clear that the territory of the informal tutor room, had a valued significance in generating a sense of recognition of pupils rights to belong in school, in the absence of which some pupils felt displaced and lost during informal schooling times.

I think year 11 who have been here the longest have their certain groups and areas and then when they leave other people nick em. Because our tutor won't let us in our room so we don't have a place where we always go (Katie.)

This might suggest that tutor group friendships may play a particular role in fostering a sense of belonging within the school community. It is interesting that Katie was particularly sensitive to notions of belonging and displacement and had a turbulent experience of changing schools herself.

10.4 Importance of friendships

Whilst the importance of tutor rooms appeared to be tempered in year eight when classes shifted for set lessons, it was significant that long standing friends were integral for all pupils in the comparator group in feeling settled as part of the school community, as well as in building the confidence to make new friends. Mark explained the particular security in his longstanding friendships:

Then you kind of spread yourself a bit more and then you get more confident to become friends with other people.

Seven of the comparator group pupils had retained friends at school that they had known for over five years on point of entry into secondary school. The remaining two pupils Katie and James had friends on point of entry into secondary school. But these were fairly new friends that had only been made in the last year, both pupils having moved to the local primary school in year six. It appeared that these lasting friendships were of integral importance for cushioning nerves in moving up school and were a source of support in the background, even as other friendships shifted:

But it's not like you forget your other friends it's just you change friends really and become better friends with other people (Mark).

Consistent with the turbulent case study pupils', school friendships emerged for this group to be the single most important aspect of schooling. The importance of friendships permeated even the formal aspects of school such as lessons and pupils described their favourite lessons as those in which "*you're with all your mates and you can just talk to them*" (Kia).

Friends played a significant role in enabling pupils to enjoy their lessons as they had a function to aid inclusion in class and manifest feelings among pupils of being a valued member of the classroom community:

If you're sitting with friends as well that helps, because if you know people that are around you, you feel better like how you work, you can feel more comfortable then (Mark).

Friends in class were also a source of support for when pupils were stuck with their work, but felt intimidated to ask for formal help:

If you're like stuck on something you won't be shy to ask them, coz you know them, to ask to help you (Ellen).

10.5 The importance of trust

A key function of friendships was the presence of mutual trust. Something which pupils treated with great importance especially as they found it was hard to find in school because:

People say you could trust teachers but you really couldn't. (Katie.)

As trust was a word which kept surfacing when discussing friendships, the group were asked who they would turn to discuss a matter of personal importance. Six of the pupils were more likely to turn to long standing friends:

It would be my friend I've known the longest (Ellen.)

I would trust Rosie with it because I knew she wouldn't say anything and stuff, to anyone (Kia).

Only James was adamant he would tell his family, whilst Lorna and Katie were unsure if they would tell friends or family:

Well it depends if you could actually trust them [friends] in what you were going to tell em. Coz you cant tell em something too personal coz if you did they could go and tell someone else and you don't know if they've told them or not (Lorna).

It was notable that these three pupils all experienced turbulence during primary school.

10.6 The meaning of trust in friendships

When exploring the meanings of the word trust in the context of friendships, it was clear that there were four important elements that this word represented and in which all pupils were in agreement. The first meaning connected to the importance of maintaining confidentiality:

That you can depend of them... you can rely on them to keep what you tell them to themselves and not to anybody else coz it's not anybody else's business if you decide just to tell them (Mark).

The second element of trust referred to the dependability of the friend in maintaining their promises:

Just like trust that they'll keep their word, if they say they're gonna meet people or do something for you, you can trust that they'd actually do that, not just say it (Kia).

The third element connected to the continuity of the friendship, trust that a friend would not leave you for another friend:

If your best mate had someone else that they're other best mate don't like then they could tell something of theirs and then they wouldn't tell you their proper best mate, they would just feel like you were leaving them out (Lorna).

The last element referred to reciprocity, trust that a friend would feel confident in the same expectations: pupils felt it was important for their friends to trust them, give them the benefit of the doubt and turn to them during difficult times:

If like they had heard something, you would expect them not to believe it, like they would come to you first instead of just believing the other person and falling out (Ellen).

These four elements are important as they help understanding into how friendships are managed. These factors are very interesting to consider from the perspective of turbulent and non-turbulent comparator pupils. Whilst all pupils agreed on the four core elements of trust, only the six non-turbulent comparator pupils believed themselves to have at least one friendship within school which met all four criteria.

10.7 Falling out with friends

When asked what was their most unhappy schooling experience, seven of the nine pupils cited losing friends through moving (either themselves or their friends) or falling out with friends, due to a significant argument. The remaining two; Shannon and Mark, cited reasons connected with stress caused by school work. It was perhaps notable that these two described very stable schooling friendships and had never changed schools outside of normal joining and leaving ages.

For the majority of pupils these responses suggest that previous negative experiences had a profound effect upon these children's schooling experiences at the time. However, it was notable that for the children with long lasting friendships in school, these one-off negative experiences did not appear to be connected with any long term anxiety regarding friendships, if anything making up friends afterwards had the effect of generating greater security from the friendship:

Well like probably like one of the sad things was me and Rosie drifted apart because like we made new friends and we kind of like drifted away but then we made friends and like we're really close now (Kia).

Mine's basically the same as Kia (Rosie).

The same was the case for Dave and Mark:

I came up with Mark and when we came up we didn't like each other. We did because we were best friends in juniors and then we hated each other and now we're friends again (Dave).

Ellen's most negative experience was her friend moving schools but she describes feeling secure in more long-lasting friendships.

I've had the same friend for 11 years really so that helped [the upset caused by another friend moving]

This friendship had become stronger and closer with the passing time:

There's always different things about them that you get to find out (Ellen).

Lorna, Katie and James all cited changing schools during primary education to be their most unhappiest moment, yet credited making new friends as the factor which caused them to feel happy again.

10.8 Anxiety over friendships

Despite the blips described above in pupils' key friendships it was clear that the majority of the group did not feel anxious on a daily level about their security in their friendships. When asked if they worried about losing their friends, Dave, Mark, Kia, Rosie, James and Shannon replied 'No'. This might be illuminated through Shannon's account which suggests the faith which pupils have in the security of their friendships:

Erm, sometimes you can fall out with your friends, but if they're real friends then you'll make up with them again, and sometimes you do take that for granted and then you don't because you need them and then you don't. [take them for granted] (Shannon).

However, it was notable that two pupils did feel anxiety with regards their friendships, and both these pupil's experienced turbulent moves during their primary education. Katie valued the group of friends she had made through moving to her new primary school, friends which she had kept through her secondary education, yet she retained a fear that a new friend may threaten her security in the group:

And I think that the most likely thing you're going to fall out about is other friends coming and taking them away if you know what I mean. Like because other friends, well people who aren't really your friend they come along and if they don't like you then they don't want you to be friends with the person they want to be friends with. It's confusing.

Lorna didn't seem to have many close friends at the Hurst when explaining the rules for the socio-gram I asked children to mark an O for which friends were from outside school to which Lorna responded:

That's nearly all my friends.

This may be contextualised against Helen's account that Lorna had fallen out with her after accusing her of stealing Christie's friendships. Whilst Lorna didn't mention this fall-out it was evident that she hadn't currently any close friends at the Maple and felt loss and grief over past severed friendships in her last school:

I left all my friends there and I don't get to see them there (Lorna).

This may have affected Lorna's experiences of school in that it appeared as it she didn't really enjoy coming into school at all:

Lorna: I don't really have a favourite lesson, it's all the same, I don't really have a favourite lesson.

CB: Do you enjoy lessons?

Lorna: No.

CB: No, why not?

Lorna: Because they're boring.

CB: Boring? All of them?

Lorna: Yeah.

Hugh: Is there anything that you feel good at?

Lorna: No.

10.9 Summary

The findings from these comparative pupil accounts revealed that as with the case study children, those pupils from the same friendship groups yet who had remained at the same school throughout their primary education, held equal values regarding the importance and significance of school based friendships. However, the significant difference between the non-turbulent comparator group pupils and the turbulent case study group was that all non-turbulent pupils expressed greater trust in friendships and able to trust at least one friend in the four core respects: confidentiality, honesty, continuity and reciprocity. Furthermore, the non-turbulent comparator pupils also demonstrated greater confidence and security in the stability and duration of their school based friendships.

As regards the 'turbulent' friends of the case study pupils, it was interesting that their experiences reflected some parallels with regards the insecurity manifested in the stability of friendships. Indeed whilst Katie had adapted to a new group of friends at the Hurst she still demonstrated residual anxiety about potential threats to her key friendships. The issue of a lack of trust characteristic of the case study pupils also resonated with the experiences of Lorna who demonstrated significant lack of trust with regards her friends at school. As the final 'turbulent' friend in the comparator group James was less forthcoming than others in the group, yet whilst he valued his close friendship with Clive, he still felt unable to trust any friend in school with a close personal matter, instead turning to his family.

On a final yet significant point it is perhaps unsurprising that the turbulent case study pupils may experience anxiety in the stability or endurance of friendships, as well as have issues with trusting friends. In fact, of the eight comparator friendships, only Lorna and James (themselves both turbulent), continued to regard respectively Helen and Clive as amongst their close school friendships. The remaining pupils made no reference to our case study pupils either in the

interview or indicated on the socio-grams, this is six months after the socio-grams for the turbulent case study pupils were drawn.

11. Discussion Chapter

11. 1 The challenge of negotiating school as a stranger

In reflecting upon the experience of schooling for turbulent pupils, the accounts of these young people build a picture of the turbulent child as stranger and the challenges they face in their attempts to navigate a place of belonging in school. Whilst these pupils' stories are each different, it is possible to consider the similarities in their experiences in a number of ways. It can also be seen that the effects of turbulence have been enduring, not only within children's experience within the receiving schools, but even spilling into the experiences of secondary education.

11.1.1 Inability to cross territories

In using a spatial analysis, it was earlier suggested that the sites of exclusion and access may not be visible but rather the borders for allowing or excluding access into the different territories of school requires a tacit understanding of the rules of the different territories as the turbulent pupil gets to understand his or her new school environment. This study has conceptualised a distinction between the formal and informal territories of the classroom and spaces for pupil recreation. Of focal interest was the turbulent child's access to social networks which may enable or disrupt access between the formal and informal territories of school. A consistent finding across these pupils was an inability to cross successfully between the formal and informal territories of school. If this had been achieved successfully it may have generated a sense of inclusion across the school's sites. Most of the case study pupils were unable to generate a meaningful and enduring sense of inclusion within mainstream lessons. This could be seen to be the case for Clive, Liza, Helen and Codie all of whom spoke of the lessons they 'hated' and this manifested in distracted and off-task behaviour between these pupils and their friends within lessons and little interest in the learning activity. As the only pupil to navigate a place of

inclusion in participating within the formal territories of the classroom, Robin's challenge was to 'bridge' into the informal territories of school, more will be said of his story later. In the case of Megan however, it was apparent that she was unable to cross into any of the territories of school, either formal or informal. Megan represents the most extreme case of isolation in being neither able to access the curriculum in lessons, nor make any meaningful friendships with peers.

11.1.2 Isolated from dominant school culture

Part and parcel of the inability to cross into the formal and informal territories of school was the experience of isolation from the dominant school culture. All of the turbulent pupils from this study could be seen to orientate towards social networks nested within territories which were in some ways marginalised from the dominant school culture. In the case of Clive and his peer group, these children were able to carve out a space in school which they termed 'the pond', this being the only space in which Clive felt he belonged in school. Liza's 'favourite' space in school was the empty 'art room' which she retreated to when unhappy as the only space where she could legitimately express her feelings. For Helen the territory of her social group was outside the maths group, separate from both playgrounds, it was significant that this was the area overlooked by the one class she enjoyed. For Robin the only territory within which he was able to navigate a sense of belonging was within geography, his best subject, in which his seatmates looked to him for instruction and Robin felt his opinion was of value. In view of Codie's frequent fall-outs her only safe space was in 'student support' among other children who felt outcast. Megan, as the most isolated in school was resigned to the margins between school territories, her only choice to 'walk the corridors' alone to fill the space between her nominal experiences of isolated learning.

11.1.3 'Belonging' in the bottom group

For five of the six case study pupils it was notable that the only lessons in which Liza, Codie, Helen Clive, and Megan felt a sense of inclusion and belonging

was within the lower sets. For all these children bar Megan, this was on account of their classroom behaviour which was accepted within lower set lessons whilst being intolerable to teachers within non-streamed, middle and upper set lessons. For at least two of these pupils: Clive and Liza, it was apparent they were capable of assignment to higher set lessons on account of their 'abilities' as perceived by teachers, however complied with the decision to be in lower sets as this enabled them to 'perform' according to their peer groups' norms.

Within her family Megan had earned the narrative of being a good mathematician. Her mother told me "Mia's really good at English, but Megan is really good at maths." In view of the fact that both her parents were illiterate and innumerate, Megan's achievements within the home context were considerable, yet she acknowledged that within school "I'm in the thick group". As such she needed continual reassurance within lessons of her competence, and support and encouragement to approach learning activities, and yet where this was successful in her special educational needs group Megan's pride and pleasure in her achievements was tangible.

11.1.4 At home in the classroom

As the only one to be successful in navigating a sense of inclusion within mainstream lessons, Robin was the exception. Yet this achievement was not characteristic of Robin's schooling trajectory, nor was it without struggle. On the contrary Robin could be seen to be isolated within both the formal and informal territories of primary school and shades of Robin's unconfident and non-participative classroom demeanour still permeated some lessons in secondary school. Yet within geography, maths and ICT there had been an observable shift in that Robin could be seen to participate freely and willingly, be involved and confident in the learning activity and even achieved top of the class status. So what were the factors enabling Robin to participate in lessons?

The reasons for this appeared to be rooted in the high achieving peer group Robin in, which had also become his friendship group in the playground. These pupils endorsed Robin's sense of self value by deferring to his judgement in

group activities, and asking for help with their work. Unsurprisingly Robin valued the inclusive aspect of his peer group and yet his role as 'helper' within geography and ICT classes was not without tension. The time spent devoted towards supporting his friends and others in the class frustrated Robin in holding him back from progressing with his own work. Yet it was a trade-off he was prepared to make in maintaining his position within his social group. With respect to other case study pupils, Robin's story is a happier or perhaps luckier one in that he was able to maintain a narrative of being an able and applied learner without it compromising his position in the group. A crucial factor here being the context of Robin's top set geography group. The micro-structure of classroom arrangement constitutes boundaries within which children can construct friendships. Among the highest achieving geographers in the year group, Robin was better positioned than the other turbulent children to form ties in social groups orientated towards formal learning outcomes.

11.2 Relationships with family, teachers and peers

11.2.1 Tight bonds with family

It was very difficult to get access to pupils' parents, and teachers' reported in several instances that parents were not involved in school activity. This was supported in that three of the six pupils' parents declined to be interviewed. Of the three pupils whose parents I was able to talk with, all spoke of a sense of exclusion from school culture and mentioned incidents across their children's schooling whereby they had challenged school authority and felt let down by the school response. These accounts coupled with the difficulty in speaking with parents, added testimony to the challenge in giving turbulent families a voice.

It was apparent in all three cases, that the role of family was very important for the turbulent pupil. The tightness of family bonds was a theme that emerged across all pupils' accounts. In addition, a number of pupils referred to specific occasions where a parent had confronted the school in standing up for the perceived threat of a child, teacher or instruction that came from school. This included Codie, Megan, Robin and Helen as well as Mark, Keeley, Bobby, Jack

and Mia from the original sample. This non-co-operation by parents with the school, suggested the insularity of bonds between turbulent pupils and their families and it could be speculated that this was a source of their defensiveness. This finding speaks to the claims of Pahl (1998) and Silva and Smart (1999) that the role of traditional families tied through blood kinship has eroded and as such bonds between family members have weakened. This was clearly not the case for the turbulent pupils of this study for whom family bonds often took precedence. Pahl and Silva and Smart argue that family ties have been replaced in contemporary times through bonds of care and intimacy forged through friendship. Indeed the role of friendship in providing validation and intimacy within school was clearly apparent, but for these turbulent children it is argued that this was not at the expense of familial relations. More will be said of the role of friendship within the next section. With regards the role of family for these pupils, in the cases of Liza, Robin, Megan and Clive, all could be seen to be overly orientated towards the home sphere, limiting their ability to forge meaningful links with the local community.

11.2.2 Disconnected from most Teachers

All children (bar Robin) described feeling disliked or even 'hated' by teachers, both in primary and secondary school, supporting the findings of Ridge (2002) in her work with children on poverty. Clive, Liza and Codie attributed this to the perception that as pupils they did not display the right sort of behaviour or attitude conducive to the formal school environment. Liza articulated this anti-school narrative as being 'a silly person' which translated as behaviour orientated towards attention seeking even if this was negative. This manifested in disrupting formal learning activities and using humour or contestation in order to engage with teachers and pupils. Indeed Liza, Codie, Clive and Helen could all be seen to demonstrate elements of a 'silly person' in their interactions with school staff.

Not surprisingly, these turbulent pupils expressed a lack of trust in the majority of their teachers. However, there were individual teachers with which some pupils bonded. Codie, Helen and Liza all formed a bond with their lower set

maths teacher Miss Bright, and it was notable this was the only teacher they had come to trust. Indeed the only trusted relationship that Megan had fostered in secondary school was with her LSA, due to the one-on-one learning activities the two engaged in. It was notable that no children seemed to bond with their registration tutor.

In reference to pupil's insecure relationships with teachers, the question emerges as to whether this was on account of the pedagogical actions of teachers in how they responded to turbulent children. Of key importance here is the longitudinal nature of this study following children from primary to secondary schooling. The fact that anxiety in relationships with teachers was enduring upon transition to secondary school suggests that the source of such anxiety emanated from the turbulent pupil themselves as opposed to actions of particular teachers. Of course this creates particular challenges for teachers, a point to be developed later.

11.2.3 Precarious bonds with peers

As one of the key findings to emerge from this study, the role of relationships with peers emerged to be the most significance driver affecting the schooling experiences of the case study pupils. However, it was the nature of the bonds between the focal pupils and their friends that enabled a theorisation of the educational penalty associated with turbulent children. This is because the social groups into which most of turbulent pupils were able to navigate entry were on the whole characterised as anti-learning. More will be said later on the processes of navigating entry with reference to Putnam's (2000) notion of 'bonding' and 'bridging.'

Turning to the role of social group ties for turbulent children the literature on friendship is helpful. Supporting the findings of Ridge and Millar (2000) on the role of friendship in protecting against social exclusion, the friends of these turbulent children had an important 'protective' function in offsetting potential bullying and teasing. This could be seen to be particularly the case for Liza, Codie, and Helen who made explicit reference to the value of 'weaker' ties of

friend's, and parents of friends could be seen to bring a "*protective and inclusive quality to children's lives*" (Ridge and Millar, 2000, p.167) enabling greater integration into the receiving community. Indeed the 'protective' aspect of friendships for these children could be understood to transcend the avoidance of negative peer attention in representing an inclusive, participative element. Indeed for all children in this study, friendships (however unstable) offered the potential to navigate both physical and symbolic spaces of being and belonging in school without which, as could be seen in the case of Megan, the alternative was isolation and displacement.

However, it was also apparent that four of the six case study children were unable to maintain enduring friendships across their educational trajectories since their last turbulent move. Rather, their bonds with their respective social groups could be seen to be inherently unstable and insecure.

11.2.4 Gendered nature of friendship groups

There is a gendered element to the discussion of children's friendship groups which requires analysis. There were parallels in the friendship groups of Robin and Clive in that whilst friendships were of significant importance to both boys, there was an absence of trust and there were disconcerting aspects to the friendships such as the negative impact upon progress with work. The social ties of boys lacked the intimacy and emotionality associated with the girls' friendship groups, however there was less fluctuation within the friendship groups such that these looser bonds between boys and their friends made for less conflict and disagreement.

In relation to the social groups of boys, Sheriff (2007) argued that boys' behaviour must be read as an identity making performance whereby the construction of masculinities takes place at the same time as affirming peer-group belonging. He suggests that the more secure the individual's identification with the peer group the stronger his sense of self worth. An

important aspect of this process is that the affirmation of the boys' peer groups requires comparison with other groups and may include derision towards them. In Clive's case it could be argued that the tighter the peer group the more fragile it was as a resource to draw on a more general sense of self esteem.

In relation to the nature of the girls' friendship groups there was an emotional value evident in relation to key friendships for Liza, Codie, and Helen, which was not apparent in the friendship networks of the boys. Their friendship networks could indeed be seen to be much tighter than those of the boys and invested with far greater emotion. Yet these networks could be characterised by dramatic fall-outs sometimes resulting in friendships being severed. During the brief windows in which friendships were good, these girls could be seen to be a lot calmer and more positive in school. Yet when they were fraught (as they were the majority of the time), they could be seen to have traumatic effects. This echoes the smothering effect that Pahl identified with co-dependent relationships of this nature, which he paradoxically labelled 'friendships of pleasure'.

The question, then is how typical are the transitory friendships of turbulent girls? Are they simply a reflection of girls' friendships in general or is there something about the consequences of moving school that distinguish turbulent girls from other girls who have not been turbulent? George (2007) has discussed the propensity of girls' friendships to fluctuate and reformulate, particularly upon transition to secondary school. She suggests that although there may be emotional and functional aspects of social relationships which play an intrinsic role in girls' experiences of school, their friendship groups are hierarchically formed and as such issues of inclusion and exclusion underpin their dynamics. As a consequence friendship groups frequently shift and inevitably some girls get left on the fringes. In presenting narrative accounts of two friendship groups of adolescent girls, Nilan (1991) questions traditional discourses which emphasise the irrationality of such fluctuations in arguing such decisions are 'rational' and 'considered' in being underpinned by a strict moral code governing the process of 'doing' friendships:

The exclusion of a group member was not an arbitrary event, not just a seasonal 'weeding out' of group members, but was a process informed at every stage by moral justifications that all the girls took very seriously (p167).

The crucial issue which emerges from Nilan's study is the mutually constituted notion of trust. As such it follows that trust must be reciprocal. This finding is of key importance in understanding the lack of faith that all turbulent pupils (bar Helen), expressed in durable friendships.

11.2.5 The value of a secure social network

In accounting for the lack of trust, previous experiences of losing friendships with children in previous schools, and the associated fear and grief at feeling forgotten, may be significant. The transient nature of previous relationships may therefore explain pupils' difficulty in maintaining a secure notion of trust in the social relationships with valued friendships. However, if the turbulent pupils are unable to trust their friends it follows that this mistrust is also reciprocal with the resulting consequence of precarious and temporal relationships with friends.

Therefore, whilst fluctuating friendship groups may be a general feature of girls' relationships it is notable that all the turbulent pupils in this study appeared to occupy a position on the fringes of their peers' social groups. In contrast to the stories of the turbulent pupils in this study, the findings from non-turbulent children's accounts suggested that whilst social relationships played a similarly intrinsic part in affecting schooling experiences, they described greater security and stability in their friendships. For example, Alice's account reflects the non-turbulent girls' security in the durability of their friendships in being able to survive fluctuations:

Yeah, sometimes you can fall out with your friends, but if they're real friends then you'll make up with them again, and sometimes you do take that for granted.

This is in stark contrast to the accounts (and experiences) of Liza, Codie and Megan who were unable to sustain friendships through fall-outs and as a result were significantly distressed during and following discord with friends.

In relation to the non-turbulent boys there was a similar story, where the security in long-lasting friendships, gave them the confidence to broaden social networks conducive to success in formal learning outcomes. For example, Mike described how his social network had shifted to build closer bonds with pupils in his fast track French GCSE class. This had helped him cope with the additional work burden associated with the intensive work load:

Coz you know you will always have your old friends then you kind of spread yourself a bit more and then you get more confident to become friends with other people. But it's not like you forget your other friends it's just you change friends really and become better friends with other people.

This is in contrast to Clive's perception that he could not sustain his friendship groups in primary nor secondary school if he demonstrated a pro-schooling learner identity. Even Robin compromised his own progression in some subjects in order that his friends and class peers would continue to like him, as will be discussed later.

A comparison of socio-grams indicated that children from non turbulent backgrounds described having a wider and more varied network of social ties, depicting between eight and fourteen friendships in contrast to the socio-grams of the turbulent sample which indicated between three and seven friendships, with the exception of one in this group, Helen, who moved school but not home. Furthermore, in the case of six of the turbulent pupils none of the friends cited as 'close' in primary school were still constituted as close friends in secondary school. In contrast every one of the non-turbulent group counted at least one friend they had known for over ten years among their closest current friendships and significantly felt able to trust that friend in a number of key respects including maintaining confidence, to honour promises and to stand by the friendship.

As the only pupil able to maintain friendships over the period of her turbulent move and transition to secondary school, Helen's experiences are noteworthy. She was the only pupil claiming to trust her friends. Here it was clear that

Helen's strong social network bridging between home, the community and school was a crucial factor in generating a positive experience of schooling. A key factor apparent in the maintenance of this social network was that Helen's turbulent move did not represent a move of home and having been born and raised in the same area, Helen (and her family) could be seen to have strong social connections forged in the local community. However, this is not to say that Helen's turbulent school move did not impact on her social networks, on the contrary core social ties with previous school friends were severed and the subsequent impact of this anxiety in relation to friendships was evident in her primary education. However, continued investment in extra-school ties could be seen to bear fruit in terms of fostering an extensive and secure social group by the time Helen ended her third year in secondary school. The question is to what impact did Helen's form of turbulence have upon her educational achievement? Helen's story suggested that an unintended outcome of her greater security in friendships was in a greater application to her work. This supports Coleman's (1996) notion of the importance of community social networks upon the child's educational outcomes. The merits of Coleman's theory will be discussed in greater detail later. However, it is notable that in Helen's case, a more applied learning orientation was not due to the community transmission of pro-schooling values, as Coleman suggests, but a result of a greater stability and security within her friendship networks in class. Helen's recent more applied learning orientation had not yet demonstrated a tangible effect upon her achievement but it is a hopeful sign. However, it is unclear to what extent Helen's cultural background frames her orientations to formal learning outcomes. Prior to her recent engagement in work, she did not value formal learning outcomes, and further education. Helen's story reveals her mother similarly saw little value in formal learning outcomes in taking her on holiday in the week of her KS2 SATs exams. Whilst formal learning might not have had a high priority, following her school move it is apparent that security within her friendship network has enabled a learning orientation more conducive to formal learning outcomes, at least with respect the classroom culture in her lower set maths and English classes. Helen's story reveals the compounding factors associated with the particular forms of turbulence that children from low income families' experience. However, in answer to Pribesh and Downey's

(1999) speculation as to whether some forms of turbulence create more of a penalty than others, Helen's experience suggest that moving school may in some ways counter the negative effects of social network disruption where families do not move home or community of residence.

11.3 Orientations to learning, aspirations & formal aspects of schooling

With the exception of Helen, all turbulent pupils expressed recognition of the importance of educational achievement. These six pupils experienced narratives from their families as to the importance of success in school, particularly as regards core subjects, in securing 'good' jobs. However, only Clive, Robin, and Megan were able to integrate these narratives into orientations valuing achievement in school. Liza, Codie and Helen made minimal attempts to apply themselves in mainstream lessons and expressed little personal desire to achieve. Megan alone of the girls could be seen to voice a keen desire to achieve in school, yet was unable to access even the lowest mainstream curriculum level. Therefore, it could be argued that for Megan achievement in formal learning outcomes could be seen to be synonymous with inclusion and acceptance of her classmates.

11.3.1 Future aspirations

With regard to the aspirations of these turbulent pupils, Helen, Liza and Megan spoke of future careers involving the care of young children. It was interesting these three girls envisaged working within a nurturing caring profession with children who are particularly vulnerable. It could be speculated that this might represent a desire to assuage their own unmet needs for care and nurture within their educational experiences. With the exception of Robin none of the turbulent young people held expectations of going to university or even continuing in non-compulsory education.

11.3.2 Tensions in assuming pro-educational learning orientations

Whilst Codie, Liza and Helen did not value formal learning, it was apparent they felt marginalised within mainstream registration class lessons, and as such their sense of self esteem and self value suffered. However, in their lower set lessons all girls could be seen to concentrate and were less angry and frustrated. Within such lessons girls voiced a desire to achieve which was in part attributable to their respect for their lower set teachers and motivated by a desire to please. These girls also felt more accepted in terms of their classroom performances in lower set lessons in contrast with their mixed ability registration class lessons. It was only in lower set lessons that these girls perceived their learning orientations as legitimate, combining application to work at the same time as engaging in off-task social activity with peers. For the majority of lessons however, they felt displaced.

Tensions in learning orientations were also apparent for Clive, and Robin, although of a different nature. Both pupils acknowledged that investing in informal relationships compromised as opposed to embellished their success in formal learning outcomes, although clearly to varying degrees. Clive aligned himself with a social group in both schools characterised by a learning orientation that was mischievous, resistant to authority and in a large part apathetic towards formal learning outcomes. Yet both in primary and secondary school, Clive made efforts to disassociate himself from his friends in class in an attempt to apply himself to his work. Yet in both schools he was unable to sustain these attempts. Robin on the contrary was able to negotiate access into a social network characterised by a learning orientation geared more towards school success and achievement and yet whilst he appreciated the validation of his ability from within the network, also felt that the attention he devoted to 'helping' his friends affected his progress in lessons.

For all children, regardless of their different learning orientations, it was clear that to varying extents and in different ways they all experienced frustration that investment in social relationships was antithetical to success in formal learning outcomes. For five of the six pupils such investment also came at a price of

marginalisation from formal classroom culture in mixed ability mainstream lessons. It is these tensions which can be seen to account for the educational penalty that can be identified for these turbulent pupils.

11.4 The value of social capital theory in theorising the educational penalty

As discussed earlier, a number of large scale quantitative studies have identified an educational penalty associated with children who move schools. In considering the experiences of turbulent pupils from low income backgrounds, this study supports the findings with respect this educational penalty. However, taking a qualitative longitudinal case study approach has enabled consideration of the theories by which quantitative studies have accounted for this penalty. I will now start with Coleman's (1988) theory of social capital in considering the ways in which this might enable an understanding of the experiences of these turbulent children.

11.4.1 The value of Coleman's (1997) social capital theory

As encountered in chapter one, for Coleman (1997), social capital has two aspects: the within family relationship and that of the relationship of the family and the community and school. The value of both forms of social capital for him rested on the assumption that adult-child social connections created the channel through which pro-educational values permeated the child. Such channels had the outcome of fostering within the child an orientation to school that was pro-educational. Coleman believed that both kinds of social capital bond suffered from stress upon or disruption due to relocation.

The case studies demonstrate the significant impact that children's family experience have had in shaping their schooling experiences. With this in mind it is necessary to say something of the impact of children's familial bonds in forming children's orientations towards school and education generally. The bonds between pupils and their families were very close, despite the tensions, sometimes apparent, between pupils and their absent parents in the case of

family break-up. However, the effectiveness of such pupil-parent bonds in transmitting pro-educational values to the child could be called into question. In this respect, the outcomes seem to be similar to those implied by Coleman, yet the role of the family in these outcomes was not anticipated by him.

While parents suggested that schooling was important, they and their families could be seen to be isolated from the school community, such that the values they held about schooling tended to be of a general nature as opposed to being connected with day-to-day practices of learning. For example whilst Clive's father impressed on Clive the importance of achieving in his GCSE's, there had been no parental response to the decision to demote him. Furthermore, Clive's mother was complicit in the protracted periods of absenteeism which had caused his tutor to be concerned. Similarly Liza's father praised her good work and monitored school reports and yet preferred Liza to stay in the lower maths set with the teachers and peers she liked, than to be promoted to a higher maths group. Megan's mother was very keen for her to learn to read and write, yet continued to remove her from school in order to attend summer horse fairs and attend protracted trips out of the country to visit relatives. It could with good reason, therefore, be speculated that the disconnection between children's families and the school played some part in accounting for a lack of child-parent social capital in the transmission of pro-schooling outcomes. In turn this was exacerbated by the absence of parent-school social capital networks.

Coleman hypothesised that another harmful effect of moving was the disruption of family-community-school bonds. Supporting this assumption the social networks of Robin, Megan, Liza and Codie could all be seen to lack local community bonds in the first years after moving. As such, these children were closely orientated to their home sphere and struggled to identify with their new community, instead describing nostalgia for their previous home territories. Codie encapsulated this sense of alienation best in claiming:

I don't belong here, I belong to my last school.

In moving school but not home Helen's community forms of social network were not disrupted and she could be seen to be well integrated which enabled her to

forge a larger more closely bonded social network with school. Clive alone of the 'home and school turbulent' pupils, could be seen to be effective in generating community forms of social network whilst at Ivy. This was in relation to the local football club which enabled bonds with others in the area both in and out of his school. He found these bonds helpful in generating a sense of familiarity in his new area. It was notable that football being a sport that Clive enjoyed in his previous school enabled him to navigate entry into the competitive local club in Thornton. This supports Brown's (2003) notion of the 'virtual' communities which instead of being geographically bound are linked through shared practice and serve to support new forms of community sustainable for mobile young people.

It seemed that little had changed in terms of community integration when pupils were followed up at secondary school. Megan, Robin and Codie had made few links with the local community which as mentioned above had put some strain upon family ties in spending so much time at home and in fostering a growing sense of isolation and displacement within school. Liza was the exception in forming social links with the community Art club, which she has been able to access through her extended family members who attended the club. The Art group clearly had a significant impact in terms of fostering a sense of inclusion and belonging. This was also the case for Helen at 'the bridge' and the pub. As both girls' families also were involved in these community social networks, bonds were also strengthened between children and their families. This is consistent with the Coleman's hypothesis that family-community forms of social capital had a compounding effect in transmitting values to the child.

However, with respect Coleman's views on the effectiveness of family-community- school forms of social capital in fostering *pro-educational* values, there seemed little synergy between the community-family values and those of the school. This tells us that whilst community forms of social network are important for the child, both with regards strengthening family bonds, as well as bonds with the local area, not all community social capital helps with schooling. This reinforces the criticism that Coleman's social capital theory overlooks issues of power, inclusion and exclusion, in presenting a rather idealised and

conservative view of contemporary community forms (Baron, Field and Schuller, 2000, Field, 2008).

11.4.2 The value of taking a Bourdieuan analyses of social capital theory

In enabling a better understanding of community forms of social capital, Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital is more helpful in theorising the turbulence penalty, in bringing issues of culture, power and exclusion to the forefront. Taking a Bourdieuan analysis enables a more sophisticated engagement than Coleman provides, in reference to parent-school disruption to social capital networks upon relocation.

Horvat, Weininger and Lareau (2003) enabled consideration of under privileged types of social capital in their research into middle and working class social networks. These authors, adopting a Bourdieuan analysis show that the social networks of working class families offered indispensable resources with respect to practical support such as childcare, finance, and transport. However, they did not offer forms of support enabling families to challenge effectively school authority which could be seen in the case of middle class social networks (Ball, 2003). Significantly Horvat, Weinger and Lareau found that challenging school was an important means by which middle class parents were able to create a tailored education so as to further advantage their children. However, effective forms of parent contestation required their understanding of the school system and as such these forms of challenge arose within the parameters, as opposed to being in opposition with, school systems. This was reflected in Robin's mother Lorraine's lack of confidence to challenge school authority. For example in relation to the school's shift from year based tutors to 'vertical' tutor groups including children from different year groups:

He doesn't find making friends easy, so I was very opposed to the idea. Not that my opinion matters or will make any difference. They're not interested.

When asked about how to go about challenging school authority she described feeling powerless in relation to more influential parents at the school the 'gate gossips' who's opinion she felt mattered more to the headmaster:

I don't really know anything about it [challenging school authority.] For me it would have been easier if we'd moved when the kids were younger to get to know people at the school gates. I was told by the headteacher I was never down with the gate gossips, I was never a 'gate gossip' who are down with it there [at the Maple].

This example demonstrates the sense of exclusion and powerlessness that children's parents experienced. Whilst there might be a class based element to the 'gate gossips' social network, Robin's mum didn't perceive herself to be automatically exempt, but rather felt that inclusion must be earned over time and as such she hadn't earned access to the 'gate gossip' group of parents who she perceived to have a voice in school matters. Her case can be seen as similar to Horvat, Weininger and Lareau's suggestion that that working class parents felt frustration at their powerlessness over school decisions which sometimes found expression through anger and resistance directed towards school personnel. In contrast, as staff from the Maple observed, the voices of the turbulent children's parents were rarely even heard by the school.

Restricted channels of communication between parents and schools made it very difficult to explore parents' views of school, and where this was possible, accounts such as Robin's mother suggested that any silence should not be taken as a lack of interest in school matters. What is distinctive about Lorainne's account is that she sees her lack of influence in school as caused by the family's decision to move schools.

In her study into the out of school activities of middle and working class children Lareau (2000) found that the activities of middle class children were far better resourced in terms of financial, cultural and social capital and as such fostered skills and orientations out of school which were more conducive to school success. In this respect Coleman's analysis may have better application to middle class rather than to working class parents. With this in mind Megan's case, represented an extreme example of the cultural clash between home, community and school. Megan's family and the Traveller community also had minimal contact with locals. Relations between school and home were exacerbated in that Megan's parents were illiterate which prevented written correspondence. The only staff member I met who had gained access into the

traveller site, (Hollybush school teacher) explained that the traveller community only saw value in gaining a basic grasp of core literacy and numeracy skills which they understood to be important to their lifestyle. Because of this, she observed, that traveller children often left school in their early teens. The only aspects of learning that Megan's mother expressed interest in during my visit were reading, writing and maths. Megan's older brothers had all left school at 14.

Whilst the above example demonstrates that school values were not consistent with home values, it was also the case for Megan that her home values were not respected in school. Teacher's disengagement with Megan's love of horses and staff frustration regarding her absence to attend horse fairs, are examples of the symbolic violence⁵ that Bourdieu (1977) refers to where the cultural values of one community are marginalised with respect the dominant values of the school. This is in contrast with the cultural values of the middle class pupils of Lareau's study for whom out of school activities such as music, drama and sports, endorsed skills and competencies necessary to do well in school.

At the outset of this study it was hypothesised that one way of countering the excluding effects of symbolic violence was through peer group friendships, enabling space for the mobile pupil to negotiate a way of consolidating home and school values. In primary school, to some extent, Megan was able to navigate some space with respect her to horse loving social group in the playground which included non-turbulent pupils. However, by the time she entered secondary school, she could be seen to be ostracised by peers. Early attempts at forming relationships with other pupils within her tutor group were quashed on account of the 'burden' factor Megan's teacher described. Pupils were wary of sitting with Megan in class as they were concerned that her constant need for assistance would hold them back. In this sense symbolic violence could be seen to operate at the pupil level in that the performance and assessment culture of the school could be seen to infiltrate pupil culture and problematised Megan's development of friendship networks. It could be

⁵ Bourdieu (1977) defines the process of symbolic violence as the naturalising of dominant symbolic systems into popular culture. This is because it represents the domination of one cultural group over another.

hypothesised that Megan's 'burden' factor might have diminished should she have received statemented educational needs support. It can also be surmised that the smaller community of primary school culture was far more suited to inclusion than secondary school for Megan, both with respect the emphasis of pastoral over performance and assessment, and staff efforts to bridge between school and home.

11.4.3 Pribesh and Downey: constructing new friendship groups

In discussing the damaging effects of mobility upon the social capital networks of children in America, Pribesh and Downey raised the suggestion as to the reconstitution of social ties and investigated the value of different types of social ties in terms of school performance. In discussing this question, it is significant that of the case study pupils who moved home and school, only Robin maintained a friendship made at primary school by the time he ended his second year at secondary school. With regards the other pupils' reconstituted social networks, these could be seen to be unstable and tenuous. As raised earlier, a key factor accounting for this was the lack of trust pupils expressed in their friendships. So what are the implications of these findings as regards our reflections upon the value of reconstituted social networks for turbulent pupils?

This question is important as findings regarding the nature of pupil's new social networks lead to the hypothesis that the social networks constituted upon relocation are a far weaker resource for pupils than previous social networks and this may be in part on account of pupils' orientations towards friendships.

However, it is worth taking a closer look at Robin's social network in order to consider its nature and its value with regards to education. Robin's social networks could be seen to be very limited at Ivy school and comprised solely of his friend Danny. It was significant that this friendship lacked an emotional intimacy which characterised the relationships of the girls and rather appeared to represent a friendship of convenience in that both Robin and Danny could be seen to be on the peripheries of peer groups and founded upon similar interests. Unique to the other case study pupils, Danny was placed in the same

tutor group as his friend Robin in secondary school. Here the pair continued to share many of the same lessons. The continuing importance of this friendship could in part be explained by their shared tutor group. Robin's social confidence could be seen to have grown significantly from primary school which was connected to his inclusion within a social network in school. His social network had also grown and now constituted, in addition to Danny, another three boys all from within his tutor group. A key aspect of this social group was a recognition of the importance of achievement in formal learning outcomes. Robin was the highest achieving of the case study pupils and unlike the others, his friendship group was also high achieving. Whereas the other pupils built upon their social bonds within recreation time, for Robin the strongest territory for building his social ties was in the classroom through collaboration within learning activities. Whilst this did not come without a price as previously discussed, the sharing of knowledge and expertise within class was clearly of a high value for the other members of Robin's social group, and could be seen to have led to strong social bonds. The nature of these ties will be expanded in the next section. Robin's is a good example of the way social capital networks can promote pro-educational values. In this case Coleman's hypothesis that strong social capital ties create an educational advantage has been inverted. Here an educational advantage led to the stability of social capital networks, which has in turn created a further educational advantage through growing confidence and inclusion within class.

11.4.4 Granovetter's strong and weak bonds

The nature of Robin's social capital ties addresses the question of the relative value of Granovetter's (1973) notion of strong and weak ties. Previously we considered Granovetter's suggestion that in contemporary society 'weak' ties founded on a transactional exchange which did not require trust, were of greater value than 'strong' ties which required a significant level of trust. Unlike the friendship networks of the other case study pupils which could be seen to be characterised as founded upon 'strong' ties, Robin's friendship network could be seen to be founded upon 'weak' ties. These ties could be seen to be

built upon relatively weaker and more easily available resources- the sharing of information, time and know-how.

These findings speak to the friendship literature detailed above, in proposing that friendship networks may have purposes other than confiding (Ridge and Millar, 2000) group identification (Sherriff, 2007) and solidarity (Nilan, 1991). In order to weigh up the relative value of the friendship networks of the pupils in this study, it is necessary to conceptualise the outcomes of these social networks in relation to the different purposes of schooling. This requires turning to Putnam and his notion of 'bonding' and 'bridging'.

11.4.6 Putnam: 'bonding' and 'bridging' social networks

Chapter one discussed how Putnam's notion of 'bonding' and 'bridging' was initially useful in conceptualising the situated nature of social networks. Whereas 'bridging' forms of social capital are inclusive, they are "outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages" (22) 'bonding' forms of social capital on the contrary are inward looking and exclusive, they aim to "reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups" (22). Whilst 'bonding' forms of social networks are concerned with strengthened social ties within singular territories, 'bridging' forms of social network are founded on less rigid social ties which enable successful crossing between different territories. Putnam argued that these were not binary categories and to an extent most social networks would demonstrate aspects of both, rather notions of bonding and bridging are best conceptualised as extreme points on a scale and it was a matter of emphasis as to which is predominant (2000, 22-23). Field (2008) has criticised Putnam for failing to provide adequate description of the different types of social network and their application in different contexts.

However, more recently Woolcock (2000) has provided what, arguably, is a tighter understanding in his typology of bonding social networks as "relations between family friends, close friends and neighbours," (72) and bridging social networks as "more distant friends associates and colleagues". He argues that both types of social network "'imply' connections between people who share

broadly similar demographic characteristics” (72). Therefore, he argues, such forms of social capital are horizontal connecting people within the same social spectrum and therefore preventing social mobility. In the light of this analysis Woolcock goes on to argue for a further category of ‘linking’ social capital which represents the opportunity to connect with people outside of their social milieu, “thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community “(14), for example the opportunities created in links between turbulent pupils and their teachers. These ‘linking’ forms of social capital take a vertical form enabling the individual to become socially mobile in connecting with other with more powerful social contacts. Field (2008) observes this is a conception which Putnam embraces but does not pursue to its “logical conclusion, which is that different combinations of the types of social capital will lead to different outcomes” (46).

However, there are further criticisms that can be made of both Putnam and Woolcock’s account. Consider Putnam’s definition of social capital which refers to:

Connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000, 19).

In such a definition the ‘social networks’ themselves become synonymous with their very nature, as ‘reciprocal’ and ‘trustworthy’. Whilst Misztal (2000) criticises Putnam for this “rather circular” definition, Field (2008) argues that he does not provide a full enough explanation for the relationship between these different elements. Woolcock’s view is that social capital “*should focus on its sources rather than its consequences, on what it is rather than what it does*” (*original emphasis*, p71). His position is that ‘entities’ such as ‘trust’ should be “*regarded as an outcome... better understood not as social capital per se, but rather as a measure of it*” (71).

However, both these conceptions by Woolcock and Putnam can be seen to situate the individual as passive in that once the nodes (individual and social contacts) have been connected, the transmission of resources and/or the outcomes of which trust and reciprocity are understood to be key, appears to be

automatic. Furthermore, as well as the individual, the components themselves of 'trust' and 'reciprocity' are seen as static; automatic entitlements (Putnam) or achieved ends (Woolcock), the same point applies to Coleman (1996). However, I would contend that these accounts of social capital miss their organic nature, the nuances associated with the flux and flow of social ties which defines the nature or quality of the interaction and the resources which are produced. Crucially it is the quality of the interaction, and the daily investment which sustains it (or destroys it) which enables an active utilisation of the potential resources offered.

Due to the continual investment that these pupils require, I argue that 'entities' such as 'reciprocity' and 'trust' are neither outcomes, nor components of social capital, but rather conditions under which social capital networks are generated and maintained. Social capital for the children in this study can be understood as a 'potential' capital which exists within the social networks of children's friendship groups. Whether and how such potential is mobilised in producing conditions for advantage can be seen to be dependent upon the strength and quality of these ties in terms of trust, stability and reciprocity. These case studies have demonstrated the role of the individual as active in the generation and maintenance, or not, of his/her social networks. And we can helpfully conceptualise this activity through processes of 'bonding' and 'bridging' in forming particular kinds of social capital network.

11.4.7 The Activity of Bonding and Bridging

This implies it is more helpful to conceptualise 'bonding' and 'bridging' as a verb, an activity as opposed to a descriptor of particular types of social network. This conceptualisation is more helpful in theorising the role of social relationships and indeed identity construction in mediating the turbulent experiences of school life. That is, whilst Putnam (2000) describes the different identities associated with bonding and bridging social networks and Woolcock (2001) points to where we might find them, these analyses cannot account for the process of identity construction and how different identities position the individual to leverage or not advantage in school. Furthermore, this

understanding enables the function of bonding and bridging to be considered as activities in which the social network engages in, making the process dynamic in contrast to the distinction between bonding and bridging which despite Putnam's caveats appear like 'frozen' ideal types. The point is that in both cases of bonding and bridging there is an active process of identity formation and social capital utilisation taking place. In turn, this informs the view we can take of the debate over whether social capital inheres in individuals or should be seen primarily as a relationship (Field, 2008). In this case the way identities are constructed is key to understanding the way social capital may or may not be utilised. In turn, it is the ability of children to trust others and be trusted that is key to whether social capital networks can be leveraged. In this sense social capital should be seen as a relationship but one crucially which can only be accessed given appropriate an identity formation by the individual.

In considering the nature of pupils' social capital networks, it is evident how in each case they can be considered as predominantly 'bonded' with limited success in 'bridging', either within the different territories of the school or between the territories of home, school and the community. Moreover, these bonded networks structured their navigation into the local community.

Liza's membership of her local Art club was because of her father's interest in art which enabled a tighter bonding with him and her grandparents. Similarly for Helen, the social networks of the 'bridge' and the 'pub' could be seen to provide strong links between her family and the local community culture.

However, whilst Liza's knowledge and sensitivities to Art had been fostered within the community, these values did not translate in the classroom and as such her community social network had been ineffective in offering a 'bridging' potential into school.

In contrast Helen's friendship group could be seen to have some bridging aspects in enabling adaptation to the different spheres of home, school and community. Given that her friendships were consolidated and played out within each of these spheres we might recognise the social capital value in generating space for inclusion and a sense of belonging across the different contexts of a child's life. Helen's group socialised together as friends and siblings within

school and extended to inter-generational family relationships outside school. As such, Helen's friendship could be seen to be tightly bonded around performances which reinforced insider and outsider status, distinguishing those who belonged to the local community and excluding those who were not a part of a local shared history.

Whilst Clive's family social network was not so entrenched, using his own resources he had been able to establish himself within a social network which enabled some bridging between the community, home and school. This supports Pribesh and Downey's conceptualisation of the child as opposed to the family network as an independent carrier of social capital. For Clive, this had been possible through the social network of his football club in Thornton. Membership had provided a useful resource in bridging between school and home as Clive had been able to establish friends out of school who lived a lot nearer than his friends in school. Whilst this network did not provide a personal bridge into school, it did enable an indirect bridge through being founded upon sporting values which were consistent with those of the peers he met in school.

However, this form of 'bridging' was limited in its endurance. Clive's in-school friendship networks could be seen to have greater longevity than his community bonds. By secondary school, he had rejected his football social network because it no longer connected to the anti-authority ideals characterising the values of his friendship group at the Maple. So pervasive were the bonding aspects of his in-school social networks that they prevented him from bridging into other social networks outside the group.

These cases all demonstrate the bridging potential of the social networks of turbulent children, albeit to the limited extent to which this was possible. However, in the cases of Codie and Megan, processes of bonding could be seen to be even tighter and problematised the possibility of bridging. Codie's social networks suggested little bridging between the home, the local community and school, on the contrary her out of school social networks were still entrenched within the community of her previous school and home. Whilst Codie had been able to generate entry into a social network within school the

tight bonding between Codie and individual members could be seen to have caused fractures within the social network, compromising the stability and security they represented in school.

Megan's social network could be seen to be that of her family and, as has been previously discussed, the disjuncture between family values and those of the school and local communities had the consequence of isolation within these other spheres of her life.

Consistent across all these examples is the curtailing effect of tightly bonded social networks upon the possibility of 'bridging' into other social networks within different territories, most notably social networks founded upon values consistent with the formal territories of school.

As the only social network to provide the possibility of bridging between the formal and informal territories of school, Robin's friendship group was unique. This is because the pro-educational values upon which the social network were founded, connected with the values of the formal culture of school, yet offered an inclusion which Robin could trade off in the informal territories of the playground. This demonstrates that just as the 'bonding' networks of Clive, Liza and Helen offered some 'bridging', so the 'bridging' networks of Robin also required an element of bonding.

Earlier it was discussed as to whether in being founded upon 'weak' ties, the resources of information, time and know-how were more sustainable than the resources of trust, intimacy and loyalty which characterised the ties of 'bonded' pupils. In answering this question it is necessary to add the qualifier 'in what context?' in considering the differential territories of the home, the school and the community. Whilst Robin's social networks could be seen to bridge within the different territories of school, there was little bridging effect into home, or the community. This may be because whilst 'weak' ties are sufficient to maintain networks within school (after all children are legally bound to be there,) in order to bridge into the out-of-school spheres in which children have more autonomy, 'stronger' bonds are necessary. This is consistent with Granovetter's hypothesis

that 'weak' bonds are great for business, purely because they do not concern the intimacy and associated duties which characterise friendships. Here we return to the purposes of schooling for children, if we are to see these as primarily concerned with the education of children in preparation for the economy, then 'bridging' social networks such as Robin's, which are founded upon weak ties, would be appropriate. However, I argue this is not sufficient as the purposes of school are not just in relation to formal qualifications, but of social and emotional development which fosters well being, self confidence and social skills. The drawback of Robin's social network was that he could be seen to be lonely and isolated out of school, in a way that Helen and Clive with more tightly bonded school and community social networks, were not.

This raises the question as to whether 'processes of bonding and bridging are compatible or conflict with each other and under what conditions. This question connects with the importance of taking a territorial conceptualisation of the school sphere, because it enables consideration of how the values of the social network connect to the values of the territory. This is because a territory is a physical space fitted to specific purpose which dictates the rules, regulations, expectations and norms associated with the territory and, underpinned by an entrenched value system.

In Robin's social network, because bonding concerned values consistent with the school, it was supportive, even necessary for bridging between the formal and informal contexts, or between home and school. Whereas for Clive, the inconsistency between the value of his social network and the values of the school resulted in bonding obstructing bridging between formal and informal school territories, (although bridging was still possible between home and informal school contexts). These findings suggest that 'bonding' and 'bridging' processes are not in opposition but rather connected to the dominant values of the contexts in which children find themselves. This leads into a discussion of the model for the 'quest for self value' and how we might understand the nuances of 'bonding' and bridging' processes in relation to the purposes of schooling. These purposes are understood in this model as the pursuit of self value within the different territories of school.

11.5 The Quest for Self value

The preceding discussion could be seen to position the turbulent pupil as a stranger who is an agent, but not a free agent in the construction of her experiences of school in her quest for self value. To expand upon this requires a return to the model of the quest for identity construction which helped to frame this thesis. This theory rests on the hypothesis that the turbulent pupil enters a new school and attempts to navigate the various sites of school with the objective of generating insider status of belonging in that school. This is connected to the underlying drive to accomplish a sense of self worth and self value within the different contexts of school. This identity making process is conceptualised as a quest as children strive to achieve self validation across all the spheres of school, but as we have seen such efforts may or may not be successful.

The first component in the construction of an identity in pursuit of self value is that of the structural factors which frame the boundaries through which individuals can operate. These structural factors produce certain material or physical conditions to which the pupil will have to respond. These operate upon different levels including: macro (societal), meso (between different social settings of the child's life) and micro (within the organisation of physical territories in school). The second component is that of performance. This component is constructed through the pupil's interaction with others. It refers to their practices within different school territories, which are the embodied behaviours of pupils as well as the outputs of these which are the academic learning outcomes in which children are measured and assessed. The third component is narrative. This refers to the stories of self which include the stories others tell the pupil, the stories the pupil tells others and perhaps most important, the stories the pupil tells themselves. As narratives both motivate and explain children's performance(s) and are shaped and negotiated through interaction with others in school, and are inextricably bound in children's construction of self valuing identities. However, such identity-making is in itself subject to the structural conditions which frame the spaces in which

performances take place, and the narratives ascribed to them. As such the pupil can be seen to be an active agent in their quest towards self value, but not an autonomous and unconstrained actor.

In order to elaborate on this, the theoretical framework concerning the links between identity formation and the quest for self-value will be illustrated through Liza and Robin's 'quests'.

11.5.1 Liza's quest for self value

Liza's quest for self value in school can be seen to translate as a drive towards maintaining tight and emotional relationships with peers. Such friendships could be seen to be co-dependent and require such investment that Liza was invariably only able to maintain one close friend at a time. (Pahl, 1998) In order to provide a meaningful sense of belonging and inclusion in the different territories of school it was important that these relationships could operate in the classroom as well as in the informal school territories.

11.5.2 Liza's Macro and Meso Structural factors

Liza's quest for self value can be understood to be shaped through the structural factors of the macro, meso, and micro sphere. On the macro level being part of a low income family, financial pressures have limited Liza's social options and caused some anxiety. This has been accentuated on the meso level in relation to family break-up and associated trauma caused through strained familial relationships. The literature on the experience of turbulence has been shown to compound this trauma and anxiety. On joining Ivy school it is possible to consider how Liza's external macro and meso world might orientate her towards feeling anxiety and mistrustful in her relationships with others.

11.5.3 The Micro Structures of school

The environment of the micro sphere can be seen to have had an effect on Liza's quest in key respects during her primary and secondary education. In the Ivy, Liza's placement in the SEN maths group- which Liza termed 'the thick group' which were frequently withdrawn from the classroom seems to have been particularly significant. This could be understood to contribute to an anti-school learning orientation whereby approval seeking was attached to her seat-mates to the detriment of her relationships with teachers.

The grouping arrangement of the secondary school further shaped Liza's options of relationship building. This study has highlighted the importance of the registration based tutor group as an organising mechanism through which pupils share lessons with their peers; in Liza's case this is extended to lower sets for maths, science and literacy lessons. These grouping practices can be seen to have a bearing upon the possibilities for friendship building. As with other pupils in the study, Liza was unable to utilise friendships outside the classroom to pursue a sense of self value in school. Because time spent in lessons was such a major component of school life, in-class friendships were very important. This is because as revealed through the accounts of the turbulent children, and supported through comparator group interviews, friendships provide the key to enable pupils to generate a sense of inclusion and belonging within the classroom community. In the absence of friendships in class pupils perceived themselves to be redundant and external to the classroom community, and further facilitated their isolation through not participating in class, preferring to go un-noticed.

11.5.4 Liza's Performances in school

11.5.4.1 Academic performances

In terms of Liza's academic schooling performance, she could be seen to under-achieve relative to her ability. This was demonstrated in her assignment to bottom set and SEN groups in maths in primary school and bottom sets in numeracy at secondary school. This conflicted with her end of key stage SATs results which were in line with the national average. Formal learning outputs

could be seen to have a low value for Liza, in that she invested little efforts into her academic learning, even within the few lessons she liked such as PE and maths, preferring to focus her attention upon her peers. Liza herself believed she was more capable than her peers in lower set maths, and attributed her assignment to this set on account of her lack of application to her work:

In maths I have Miss Bright, she's a nice teacher and I really like her but she treats me like the rest of them, and I'm not like the rest of them. I'm smarter than all of them it's just my concentration, they're down there because they're not very bright and I'm down there because of my concentration.

As Liza's academic performances were at best average, it is notable that they did not translate into a resource for validation in school. In failing to provide encouragement and support for her to help build a self valuing academic identity, we might consider such academic under-performance to contribute to an apathy towards formal learning outcomes.

11.5.4.2 Embodied performances in school

In terms of the embodied performative aspect to Liza's quest, her action and interaction within lessons can be seen to be geared towards off-task conversation and activity, with a view to entertain friends and consolidate close friendships. Similarly, in the social territories of the school, Liza's interactions can be seen to be targeted towards intense and emotional personal friendships. As both Liza and her father acknowledge, Liza's school life is fraught with a high level of 'drama', she can be seen to be easily pulled into highly emotional feuds and involve herself within friends' problems. Such performances connect to her drive for self value as her desire to be needed and continual requirement for validation represent her attempt to hold onto relationships in which she is insecure and in continual fear of losing.

11.5.5 *Liza's narratives in school*

In explaining and labelling her embodied performance in school, Liza terms herself a 'silly person' which as she explains means:

When you don't concentrate on your work and you make the friends that are next to you laugh, it usually works.

This narrative explains her lack of interest in work and situates the importance of investing in friendships and winning approval as the primary means through which she interprets the quest for self value at school. However, implicit within this narrative is an insecurity in self worth which can be seen both to motivate and explain her schooling performances. Connected to this narrative is a story of self deprecation whereby Liza trivialises her position in removed maths group as being the 'thick group,' It is also evident in such statements such as:

'I love Art, I don't think I'm good at it.'

These narratives created through micro structures within the school, meso and macro external structures can be seen to both motivate and reflect Liza's anti-schooling, friendship orientated quest for self value.

11.6 Summary

This theoretical structure can be seen to highlight the ways in which theory and ethnographic data interlock to build a rounded picture of Liza's experiences and tell a story of an unfulfilled quest for self value. As such we might understand Liza to place a high value upon relationships and understand the quest for self value in school to correspond with relationship building and approval seeking and we might also understand why she is less engaged with the formal aspects of schooling: in part because of the way she feels she is treated by teachers and in part because her peer interactions and relationships are more important to her.

11.7 Robin's quest for self value

Robin's quest for self value in school can be seen to translate as the drive to maintain an identity as an able mathematician and geographer and a worthy helper to others. This quest can be seen to emerge in response to Robin's

notion of outsider upon moving to Ivy primary school. Robin's confidence in his work based abilities in lessons can be seen to have grown following his turbulent move into a new town. The establishment and maintenance of this self valuing identity in school can be seen through the lens of the identity construction model.

11.7.1 Structural factors and the quest

In understanding Robin's quest the following macro structures of the labour market had an impact on the meso level in affecting his father's redundancy and resulting unwelcome move to a new town. This situated Robin as a reluctant stranger in a new town. In addition Robin's SEN in terms of his speech and language difficulties, which complicated communication with others, can be also seen to contribute towards his notion of outsider and being different. These factors also interacted on the meso level whereby Robin's communication problems and difficulties in transport (in not having a family car) problematised his bridging between home, school and the community in building relationships with others.

On the micro level there is also an interaction with external macro structures whereby Robin's SEN status requires that both within primary and secondary school, he occupy a position in the front right hand corner of the classroom, the best position for hearing the teacher speak. This limited the possibility for friendship forming in class, giving Robin little autonomy over his seat-mates. However, in secondary school micro structures of classroom organisation can also be seen to aid in his quest for self value, through setting Robin among high attaining boys in maths and geography. In the former instance it is possible to understand how micro structures at primary school contributed to a notion of outsider status, but also enabled the formation of a friendship with his teacher selected seat mate Danny. Similarly the micro structures of secondary school prompted Robin's friendship group comprised of other high attaining boys. As such in providing the conditions for friendship building in class micro structures can be seen to have contributed to Robin's quest for self value.

11.7.1 Robin's performances

11.7.1.1 Academic performances

Robin's desire to succeed in his formal learning outcomes could be seen to play a large part in his quest for self value. This is because Robin's attainment could be seen to exceed the national average in four subjects and significantly excel in Geography, Science and Maths. As such we might understand such performances in these subjects to motivate a continued desire to perform highly. In this sense Robin's academic performances shape his embodied performances (in working hard) which further boosted his academic performances. In this way the two aspects of performance are self perpetuating.

11.7.1.2 Embodied performances in school

Friendship was not simply an automatic result of being seated next to peers: Danny, Matt, Dave and Mark, but rather through their interaction in class work bonds were formed. It is these interactions in terms of Robin's embodied performances which can be seen to translate into his quest. His experiences of low level bullying at the Ivy can be seen to contribute to a sense of exclusion from the school community and foster an emphasis upon the importance of being included. The primary bonding activity of Robin's performances with others involved his 'helping' others. In primary school this manifested in relation to teachers with respect to his ICT skill; in secondary school, he helped his friends in ICT, Geography and maths. The outcome was that Robin fostered a sense of inclusion and belonging to the classroom community. The meaning and the motivation behind the performance of helping and participating in class enable us to consider the role and function of such activities in shaping Robin's experiences in school as the next section will unpack.

11.7.2 Robin's narratives

The narratives informing and explaining Robin's quest for self value give meaning to observable class and playground behaviours. In primary school

Robin's objective in helping was to please the teachers so as to make them happy and feel favourably towards the class. In secondary school his objective in helping peers was to earn favour from his friends and classmates.

A critical statement explaining why he helped others was:

It means that less people hate you.

This reflects a narrative which understands 'helping' as a mechanism for earning acceptance, and a greater security within the territories of the classroom. However, the activity of helping is only effective as a bonding mechanism as it connects to the high value placed upon achievement in formal learning outcomes which is shared by the boys within Robin's friendship group.

As such of further significance in his quest for self value were the narratives of his peers. Through asking him for help Robin's friends were conveying to him the narrative that they trusted his abilities and valued his advice. In this way his sense of self value is not simply a product of his attainment but crucially of the validation of his 'ability' or perceived potential to attain, by others.

However there was a tension apparent in the narratives Robin presented, this is because his own indicator of ability translated as:

Only when you're the first one to complete the work

The ability to finish work first was compromised by the bonding activity of helping, causing frustration:

I've probably done more of other people's work than mine over the last few weeks.

This may explain why he underestimated his abilities in work in rating himself as "in the middle" for subjects such as English. However, it was a price he was willing to pay as his quest for self value placed a higher value upon the inclusive aspect of helping than on competing with his friends and peers to be the highest achieving among them. In return for compromising his personally defined status

as most able, Robin's friends at the same time validated his status as belonging to the classroom community of high achievers through seeking Robin's counsel.

11.7.3 Summary

Using the model of identity construction we can understand how Robin's quest differed from Liza's in his attempts to seek self value in school. The macro, meso and micro structures both preceeding and following his turbulent school moves could be seen to situate him as a stranger and outsider. Yet within school, his interactions with peers and teachers as well as the outcomes of this interaction (school work) revealed an active attempt to challenge his outsider status and earn a place of belonging within school. This was achieved through Robin's academic performance in achieving highly in some subjects and embodied performances in working hard and helping his friends. Robin explained his 'helping' performance through a narrative which understood this performance to earn the favour of peers and a notion of belonging within the classroom. Yet within these narratives there was also a tension in that Robin perceived the performance of 'helping' to work against his own narrative indicators of being 'clever' in 'being the first one to finish'.

Robin and Liza can be seen to be similarly orientated towards social relationships in their quest for self value within school, although in different ways and with different outcomes. In some respects Robin's quest was more successful in that the performances and narratives informing Robin's quest were more in line with achievement in his formal learning. Social capital networks (friendships) could be seen in both cases to place a key role in the extent to which pupils felt isolated/included, alien/belonging in school. However, for both pupils the strength and nature of their social relationships could be seen to be fragile and insecure with the outcome that neither (nor indeed any of the other turbulent pupils) were successful in navigating a secure and strong notion of belonging and well-being in school.

11.8 Final remarks

This quest is conceptualised as a process as opposed to an achieved end. This is because inclusion and achievement can be seen to be ephemeral and contingent for turbulent pupils. The numerous players within the territories of school and the changing structural conditions which frame the learning and social environments result in evolving social networks built upon shifting value systems. As such, the quest for self value requires daily investment and continual renewal and (as can be seen for these pupils) leads to outcomes of varying degrees of success. What is more, unpacking the various 'quests for self value' enables a nuanced understanding of the courage and ingenuity through which turbulent children confront the challenge of navigating a place of belonging in school. These quests are pursued through the formal and informal territories of the school with their tacit rules and norms. We might marvel at the extent to which these pupils have adapted to fit in with their new schools, whilst at the same time recognise the tensions and trade-offs that are the inevitable cost.

12. Conclusions

12.1 Key findings of this thesis

In response to the research questions posed in this thesis I shall report on the key findings and indicate where future research may be important.

12.1.1 An explanation for the educational penalty turbulent pupils experience in terms of children's' focus on their relationships with peers rather than learning.

The findings from this study tend to support the hypothesis of an educational penalty for turbulent pupils identified in the quantitative literature. However, the qualitative longitudinal frame has enabled the development of insights into how this penalty is created. The findings from this study illuminated the educational penalty through the attention pupils paid towards their social relationships which problematised investment in school work. This was because for most of the turbulent pupils (except Robin) the values which underpinned pupils' friendship groups were anti-formal learning outcomes and not conducive to the values associated with educational progress. Pupils did not express values which were antithetical to formal learning, on the contrary all pupils they spoke of a desire to succeed in school and this could be seen to cause tension where efforts to apply themselves to their lessons conflicted with peer endorsement. Where tensions arose for turbulent pupils between allegiance towards friends and towards their work, the former could be seen to triumph. This could in part be attributable to the gap between managing the daily life of school and the prospective goals of school achievement. With the exception of Robin, there was little synergy between daily and long term goals which was mirrored in the disconnection between formal and informal territories in school.

12.1.2 Turbulent pupils do not feel valued or well regarded by their teachers.

Turbulent pupils were unable to generate a sense of self value in the formal territories of the classroom for two connected reasons. Firstly, they did not feel

valued or well regarded by their teachers. With the exception of Robin, all pupils described teachers in their primary and secondary school who they thought disliked or 'hated' them. Secondly, turbulent pupils did not feel included as rightful learners within the formal territories of the classroom. The alternative was to be isolated within class or to participate within the anti-school sub cultures of the classroom. Robin alone was able to navigate towards a place of inclusion within the formal territories of the classroom.

There was an exception in relation to the lower set secondary school maths teacher Miss Bright, with whom Liza, Helen and Codie all trusted and felt valued. This was because in these lessons the classroom performances of these turbulence pupils (and their peers) were accepted whereas they were not tolerated in other lessons. In their Maths lessons the turbulent girls could be seen to be most comfortable and display greater application towards their work.

12.1.3 There is remarkable stability in this focus and their consequent behaviours and actions over time.

The longitudinal nature of this study has enabled me to track pupils over five years following their last turbulent move. A surprising finding was the enduring nature of the effects of turbulence which in most cases were not mitigated by the relative stability of three non-turbulent years. Robin and Helen were the only pupil to have made significant progress towards inclusion during the three years of the study. All other pupils who had moved home and school could be seen to continue to feel displaced within school and all pupils could be seen to continue to experience isolation and exclusion in some territories of the school. For these pupils grief and loss associated with the severing of past relationships could be seen to retain a significant influence upon children's performances and narratives. This underlines the pervasiveness of the impact of moving and prompts more detailed consideration of the processes by which pupils' social networks shaped their schooling experiences. This requires consideration of the contribution of social capital theory.

12.1.4 Social capital, friendship and actions of children are important in understanding their relationship to school and educational achievement.

Taking a social capital perspective has provided an appropriate lens through which to consider the schooling experiences of these pupils. Indeed the findings from this study lend significant support to the role of social relationship ties and social capital networks through which they operate, in shaping school experiences for turbulent pupils. However, social capital theory has required development to apply it in the following ways, in order to explain this relationship. These developments include: identifying schooling social capital measures in terms of inclusion within school territories, theorising the intrinsic value of 'friendship' as a key to the formation of social capital, the reconceptualisation of trust and reciprocity as preconditions for friendship making, and acknowledging the spatial and temporal nature of social capital in schools. These developments will be discussed in turn.

12.1.4.1 Social capital networks: access into school

This study has conceptualised the turbulent pupil as a stranger in school and the accounts of these six pupils have revealed their various endeavours to navigate a place of belonging in school. The pupils in this study have engaged with this task with various degrees of success and always with some cost. In developing an understanding of what constitutes social capital and how is it wielded in schools, my theoretical framework has conceptualised social capital as providing access into the informal and/or formal territories of school and it is through the inclusive/exclusive processes of social networks in which this capital is mobilised. In the absence of any form of social capital, the result is isolation, as in the case of Megan. This could be seen to be associated with a sense of displacement within the school environment which problematised the forming of a meaningful learning orientation. Megan didn't feel she belonged in school (a notion her peers and teachers shared) and as such she didn't feel like a rightful learner.

However, in providing some notion of inclusion within the various territories of school, the peer social networks of all turbulent pupils could be seen to offer some form of social capital. Yet, these social networks were not necessarily associated with educational advantage, in some cases they represented an additional obstacle towards formal learning. The social capital network most closely aligned to educational success was that of Robin's which was constructed upon shared values of high attainment in school. The inclusive aspect of Robin's social capital network enabled him to negotiate a sense of belonging in class which offset the educational penalty associated with the disruption to school (and friendships) caused by turbulence. However, the bonds between Robin and his social network could be seen to be insufficiently strong to enable inclusion within the informal territories of school and between home, school, and the community.

12.1.4.2 Family social capital may (or may not) extend in to the community

Despite over three years since their last school move Robin, Megan and Codie were unable to utilise a social capital network to generate a sense of inclusion in the local community. In each case the pupil and their family could be seen to be isolated in relation to the local community. Pupils (and their parents) could be seen to continue to identify a sense of belonging with their previous locality and feel little identification with their current local area. However, in the case of Clive and Liza, these children had made progress towards 'settling in' to their new local communities and had started to build social networks which generated a greater sense of inclusion within the community. For Clive this was through his own resources focussed on football and ice hockey. For Liza, this was enabled by the social networks of her extended family into the Art club. In moving home not locality, Helen's social network in the local community had grown and enabled her to feel a strong sense of community identity, whilst still feeling displaced in school.

Indeed, the findings from this study revealed that these pupils did not 'settle' into school in the same way. This was because, with the exception of Robin, the social capital networks of turbulent children could be seen to be constructed

around orientations to school that were anti formal learning outcomes. The social capital networks of these pupils were characterised by being tightly bonded (but unstable) so that they were able to navigate a precarious sense of inclusion in their respective informal territories of school. Furthermore, these networks were useful (with varying degrees of success) in enabling a bridge between home, school and the community. Yet in each case these social networks, being founded upon values in conflict with the dominant values of the school, could be seen to prevent a sense of inclusion into the formal territories of the classroom. These findings speak to Coleman's in that whilst family social capital networks are essential for inclusion, this does not follow that such inclusion concerns school achievement, rather the values which connect families with communities may not be compatible with those of school achievement and formal learning outcomes.

Community social networks were not a focus of this study, but these findings suggest this to be a beneficial line of enquiry to pursue in exploring the compatibility of the values of pupil's (community and school) social networks with the values of dominant school cultures.

12.1.4.3 Developing social capital theory through 'friendship'

The findings from this study are helpful in pointing towards suggestions for how we may understand the nature and conditions of social capital for turbulent children, and this has been directed through the notion of friendship. Very little has been written on the connections between social capital and friendship amongst children but this formed a key part of the theoretical development necessary to understand these children's experiences. In developing social capital theory towards its application in schools, this study suggests that trust and reciprocity are neither *aspects of* social capital (Putnam) nor *outcomes* (Woolcock) but rather conditions necessary to form and maintain it. These very conditions could be seen to be lacking for the pupils of this study with the result that they could be seen to be anxious and insecure in their friendships.

The findings from these children's accounts could be seen to be connected with the trauma of grief and loss associated with severed ties with past friends. Further research here into the effects of severed ties with friendships in releasing schools would be valuable. In comparing orientations towards friendships between these turbulent pupils and their non-turbulent friends in secondary school, it was significant that pupils who had not had turbulent experiences described greater security and confidence in the endurance of their friendships than the turbulent pupils, whilst citing friendships as having as equal importance in affecting schooling experiences. This exploration into the role and function of friendship was illuminating in flagging up key components of trust which are worthy of further exploration, these are; faith in endurance of friendships, honouring promises and maintaining confidence. Furthermore, each of these components required reciprocity of in order to maintain trust.

12.1.5 Following relocation both children and their parents find it difficult to reconstruct social capital that has a lasting effect upon social, emotional well being and learning.

As the accounts presented here show, children and their families were not passive victims of turbulence, but rather displayed ingenuity and persistence in navigating the territories of the receiving schools and their new communities. However, such efforts did not translate into social capital resources which could be utilised as a consistent and dependable resource to foster social and emotional well being and contribute towards learning.

12. 2 The temporal and spatial context: Locating and mobilising social capital

Whilst these turbulent pupils could be seen to lack security in their social networks, does this mean they therefore lacked social capital? In developing understanding of the debate into how we might locate social capital, (Field, 2008) these findings suggest that social capital is not a property possessed by individuals, but rather a 'potential' resource which is mobilised in a *process* which requires continual investment. It is therefore the outcome of relationships.

Whether and how such potential is mobilised in producing conditions for advantage can be seen to be dependent upon the strength and quality of these ties in terms of trust, stability and reciprocity. As such we might understand that 'social capital' unlike that of economic, cultural or human capital does not have an accumulative value. It cannot be earned and then banked, but rather must be tended and maintained to bear fruit in wielding a successful schooling experience for turbulent pupils.

The different social networks of these pupils have told something of the processes of tending and maintenance which is worthwhile reflecting on. This speaks to the 'bonding'/'bridging' debate (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001) as well as the friendship literature (Rubin, 1980; Pahl, 1998) in suggesting that there is a careful balance of intimacy which is necessary to enable close, secure friendships in generating a place of belonging within school, yet which is not too restrictive to constrict the formation of other social relationships within different territories across different spheres. In extreme forms the tight bonding which characterised the friendship networks of Clive, Liza, Codie and Helen could be seen to prevent 'bridging' into other territories in which the values underpinning the bonding were in conflict. On the other hand, insufficient bonding prohibited Robin from bridging into the informal territories of the playground. This suggests that whilst there was some tension between the functions of social networks in bonding and bridging, both aspects were required, and mutually affirming to some extent. Close friendships required maintenance in the informal and formal sites of school, and the ability to cross between territories required an element of bonding to maintain their relevance. As such, processes of bonding and bridging could be seen to be self reinforcing. However, the more insecure children were in their social networks, the more they orientated towards bonding at the expense of bridging; when pupils felt more secure in the bonded nature of their friendships they were better equipped to bridge. This involved either deliberate strategies orientated towards becoming part of the formal classroom community (Clive), or indirectly through the wellbeing generated through secure friendships which produced calmer more focused in-class orientations (Helen, Liza, and Codie).

12.3 How schools can respond

So what are the implications of these findings with respect to advice to schools, as to how they may better support turbulent children?

Understanding the key role of friendships in enabling inclusion into school, more attention might be devoted to providing the tools to enable friendship building. The 'buddying' strategy has become commonplace in schools. This is where teachers will select a pupil to assign responsibility for helping the new pupil to settle in. However, these findings suggest that such decisions can provide key points of entry for the new child to bridge into school. Therefore, careful selection processes in assigning buddying strategies to connect with commonalities across the formal and informal spheres of school might be helpful, for example, assigning 'buddies' according to preferential subject areas as well as (pro-social) hobbies and interests. However, these findings also highlight the long-term processes of inclusion, such that friendship building is not merely the first step, but rather an ongoing process. Recognition of this reveals that support is not restricted to strategies and procedures for inclusion but rather requires a fundamental holistic approach founded upon a conception of the pupil as rightful member of the new school community, who should feel valued and belonging in school. In building upon an understanding of social and emotional wellbeing as underpinning learning for pupils, more space might be accorded to the securing of these foundations. Skills for relationship building and management might usefully benefit not only turbulent pupils, but their peers and teachers. As this study has highlighted, the construction of positive (and negative) experiences following turbulence is shaped by pupils themselves, their peers and teachers, as well as the senior managers which make decisions concerning pedagogical organisation.

12.4 Critical reflections on methodology

12.4.1 Sample group

As with any small scale qualitative enquiry, a sample group of six cannot make claims of representativeness of the wider turbulent population. The backgrounds of these low income turbulent pupils included boys and girls (though not in equal measure), those following family break-up as well as those from dual parent families, those which had moved within and between counties, those who's parents were carers, not working, employed and from the Traveller community. However, there are a number of other low income turbulent groups whose experiences were not included in this study, for example, children who are refugees and asylum seekers, escaping domestic abuse, living in social and temporary accommodation as well as children in care. Further research would be useful into the application of this theoretical framework in understanding the experience of children from these groups.

The six case study pupils from this study had reduced through attrition from an original sample size of seventeen. The commonality of the longitudinal sample group was in attending the feeder secondary school of the primary school in which I had originally met them. Due to the difficulty in tracking turbulent children it had not been possible to follow children which had gone on to continue a turbulent trajectory in their secondary education. Further research into the effects of a continued turbulent trajectory would be useful as a point of comparison with the findings of these pupils. It can be hypothesised that such issues of insecurity in friendship might be heightened for children with continued turbulent trajectories, or alternatively such pupils might put less emphasis into their social networks as a deliberate strategy to avoid the trauma associated with severing friendships.

12.4.2 Interviewing/ observational techniques

In reflecting upon my research tools it is important to consider how my approach to interview and observation were shaped by my theoretical frame. Taking a social capital perspective led to a focus upon turbulent pupils' social networks, and the nature of these interactions. Observations, therefore, were focussed on pupils' interactions in the class and the playground. However, it was clear from these data that the children in this sample with the exception of one were not

engaged in a significant way in formal learning because their priorities lay in sustaining their often fragile relationships. It could be argued that exploring these issues tended to shift the focus away from questions of formal learning. It is the case that there are schools where it seems that it has been possible to engage mobile pupils from different groups in formal learning (Brown et al, 2010). Although such a possibility in the light of the quantitative data described in the literature review and this study appears unusual. Suffice to say that for these children, with the exception of Robin, the pedagogical style of lower set lessons were more conducive with classroom culture of these turbulent pupils and their peers, than those of mixed ability classes.

However, the engagement of turbulent pupils in the Brown et al (2010) study points towards the importance of further research into the effects of different aspects of pedagogy upon the experiences of turbulent pupils and how these in turn are affected by national policy.

12.4.3 Telling Children's stories

The richness of this study can be evaluated through these six stories and the extent to which they represent a fair and thorough reflection of the lives they recount. Telling others stories is always subject to judgements about firstly researchers right to tell a story and secondly the value of the story they create. Sfard and Prusack (2003) remind us of the necessary gap between the 'aAa stories of self' which are the stories research participants tell themselves of who they are, the stories participants tell others and those others tell participants, and so inevitably the gap is once more removed in the researcher endeavour to interpret these stories through ethnographic analysis which subsumes these stories into a composite, but nevertheless, a further story still.

Whilst attending to the ethical considerations of informed consent (discussed in chapter two), my ultimate measure of story-teller status was judged by the children themselves in their willingness to tell me their stories. This was testimony to the relationships we built across the years of my study, but was

also due to the experience of being silenced previously. These children wanted and deserved to have their stories told.

As regards the credibility of my interpretation of these six stories a crucial factor in this was the importance of nested levels of triangulation. Data sources were brought together in terms of dialogue, class and playground behaviour and performance indicators. But just as important was the triangulation of the various stories Sfard and Prusack (2005) identify, and the inclusion of the turbulent children themselves to take part in this process. The frame for my interview structure shifted between a focus upon the present, encouraging children to explain and develop their explanations for their observed behaviours, attitudes and relationships in school. Then moving to the past where children reflected upon the experiences of moving, and the memories and feelings these stories generated. Then shifting again towards future hopes, expectations and aspirations. This movement between stories of the past, present and future enabled me to use each story to interrogate, develop and unravel the other, in asking the child with me to piece together the stories of their lives and be active in the process of qualification, reflection and development of understanding.

Yet the reflexive researcher must acknowledge that no matter how conscientious these stories may be in their construction, they can only ever claim to be a representation of the lives they speak for. Perhaps here it is pertinent to end as I began and say something of my role in this process, to enable the reader to consider my personal engagement in this process. The conduct of this study has been long, fraught with the frustrations of tracking the children which in so many cases escape beneath the radar of schools and local authorities. For the six stories told here there were eleven others in the first stages, of whom I was unable to track and whose stories remain untold. Furthermore, with regards the children here I have been able to study it has been difficult and sometimes painful to consider the isolation of these children, to witness their valiant struggle for acceptance and belonging and to document the often futile efforts to conform to behaviour conducive with formal achievement in school. However it was also humbling and inspiring to witness

the agency of children in the face of the disadvantages presented through turbulence and the associated factors framing turbulence such as family break-up, unemployment and bullying. In their different ways and to varying degrees all children had managed to navigate some way of being in school, so that, if only for moments, there was laughter, smiles and optimism which underlines the strength of will above circumstance, and leads me to conclude they were not lost causes. For this reason I hope that this research can contribute towards an agenda aimed at tackling the negative effects of turbulence for low income children, and enabling schools, authorities and policy makers in enabling the support that is required to change such children's futures.

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14. Appendix A. Sample Primary School Interview Schedule

My name is Ceri and I am doing some research on the effects of moving schools for children. That's why I wanted to talk to you about your experiences of changing schools and in settling into school here. I also wanted to ask you some questions about what you think about being in school here- is that OK? Everything you tell me is confidential (explain) and the only reason I would need to tell someone anything you said in here is if I thought you said something that put you or other people in danger, OK? Do you have any questions before we begin?

1) What do you think about going to school here?

- b) What do you like about it?
- c) What don't you like about it?

FRIENDS & OTHER CHILDREN

2) Who are your friends in school? Tell me about them

- b) What are they like?
- c) Why do you get on well together?
- d) Do you have different friends in the different lessons?
- e) Who do you play with at break times?
- f) Who are your friends out of school?

3) Do you like the other children in your year?- why?

COMPETITION/ CO-OPERATION

4) Do you prefer working on your own or with others?- why?

5) Who do you like working with in lessons?- why

- b) Who don't you work well with?

6) Do you get to sit with your friends in class?- why?- why not?

- b) would you like to sit with them?

ENGAGEMENT

7) Do you like your school work? (why/why not?)

- b) Do you think school work is important?

8) What lessons do you like- why?

b) are there any lessons you don't like?

9) How do your teachers think you're doing at school?

10) Do you ever worry about not doing well in school?- why?

HELPING

11) Do you like helping the teacher?- why?

b) do you like helping other people in the class?- why?

CHANGING SCHOOL

12) Can you remember about how many times you have changed school?

13) How did you feel when you had to leave school the last time?

14) What was your last school like?

Teachers?

Children?

Work?

15) Are you still in touch with any of your old friends?

16) Did you come straight here from your last school?

17) How did you feel when you came to this school?

b) What were the children like?

c) How long did it take to make friends?

d) Were there any other new children joining at the same time how was that?

e) What were the teachers like to you?

18) Did anything make it better or worse than other new schools you've

a) in order to settle in to?

b) in order to do work?

29) Tell me about the first day you arrived at school, right from the moment you left home.

20) Which was your favourite school?- Why?

21) When would you like to leave school? and What would you like to do when you do leave school?

15. Appendix B the Maple Sample Interview Script

Do you remember we talked a bit about life at Primary school and what it was like moving schools during your primary years? Well today I would like to talk to you a bit about moving up to secondary school, what that was like and then how you found coming to the Maple. Then I was going to ask you a bit about lessons and your friends, and hobbies and interests, does all of that sound OK? Ok just to remind you that everything you say in here remains confidential between you and me. So I won't be sharing what you tell me with any other else in or out of the school. The only circumstance in which I would have to share information is if something you said suggested that you or someone else was in danger. Are you happy to begin?

Moving schools

1. a) So what was it like to move up to secondary school? Tell me about joining The Maple?
 - a) Who else did you know when starting at the Maple? How did that affect settling in?
 - b) How did it compare with other time that you moved school?
 - c) Last time you told me you didn't like having more than one teacher, how do you find having lots of teachers here?
2. a) Tell me about the first day you arrived at school here, right from the moment you first walked through the school gates.
 - a) Were there any differences between your first day here and your first day at Primary school?
3. a) How would you say you are doing at school now?
 - a) What do you think doing well at school means here?
 - b) Does it mean the same as doing well at Primary school?
 - c) Would you like to stay here? why?

Lessons

4. a) Do you enjoy lessons here? which ones and why?

- b) Do you still like maths? why?
- c) Are there any lessons you don't like? – which ones and Why?
- d) Which do you think are the most important lessons here and why?

5. a) Do you always sit next to the same people in lessons?

- a) Is there anyone who you sit next to in lessons that you like?
- b) Is there anyone who you sit next to in lessons that you don't like?
- c) Does who you sit next to in lessons make a difference to how much you enjoy the lesson?- why?
- d) In Primary school you chose to sit on your own as you felt it helped you concentrate better and work more, do you get distracted by others you sit with now? in what ways?

Friends in school

6. a) Tell me about What do you do at break times?

- a) Which pupils do you hang around with at break times?
- b) Where do you hang out at break times?
- c) Last time we spoke x and x were your best friends are you still in touch with them now?
- d) Who is your best friend now and why?

Self valuing identities

7. What things make you feel good about yourself at school?

8. What things make you feel good out of school?

9. What other hobbies or activities do you do for fun?

Trusted relationships

10. a) From time to time most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last year, who have been the people with whom you discussed a personal matter that was very important to you?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

11. What about if it was an issue to do with school work who would you go to?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

12. What if it was an issue to do with friendships in school and in the playground, who would you go to then?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

13. a) Do you feel equally close to all these people? who is especially close to you?

a) Do all these people know each other? in what ways?

b) Are any of these people especially close to each other? Would you say they were as close with each other for example as they are to you?

Favourite places; symbolic and real

15.a) Where is your favourite place and why?

b) Where is your favourite place in school?

16 a) I would like you to draw a cross on this line representing the most unhappy you have ever been at school and then one representing the happiest you could ever imagine. Now could you put a cross showing where you are now on this scale.

b) What has brought you from here (the unhappiest) to here (where you are now?)

c) Where would moving schools fit in?

d) What might bring you to here (the happiest)?

16. Appendix C. Lesson Observation Schedule

1. What is happening during class administration?
 - a) What is X doing?
 - b) Who is X mixing with and how are their peers responding?
 - c) How is the teacher responding?
2. What is happening during teacher delivery?
 - a) What is the activity?
 - b) How is X responding to the activity?
 - c) Is X interacting with anyone else and how are they responding?
 - d) Is the teacher responding?
3. What is happening during group working activity?
 - a) What is the activity?
 - b) Who is X interacting with /what is the purpose of the interaction?
 - c) How does the teacher respond to this interaction?
4. What is happening during independent working time?
 - a) What is the activity?
 - b) What is X doing in relation to the activity?
 - c) Is X interacting with anyone else and how?
 - d) Is there a teacher response to this interaction?
5. What happens during task management time (getting apparatus and packing up)
 - a) What is X doing?
 - b) Who is they interacting with and what is the nature of this?
 - c) Is there a teacher response?